The Outlook

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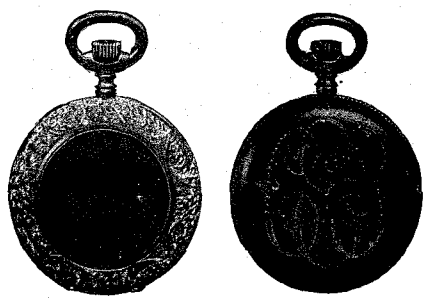

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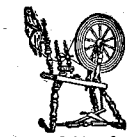

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The Outlook

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Unlimited Debate

Last week Senator Quay attempted to break the deadlock upon the Statehood Bill by introducing a motion that a vote upon the measure be taken before the close of the session. The adoption of such a motion would of course have introduced in the Senate a modified form of closure, by which debates could be ended without unanimous consent. Naturally, the adoption of such a resolution to secure the passage of the Statehood Bill was sure to be resisted by the Republican Senators opposed to the bill, but the short debate upon it showed that its most strenuous opponents would be Democratic Senators in favor of the Statehood Bill. The adoption of a closure rule, they saw, would generally be a weapon in the hands of the Republican majority to limit debate desired by the Democratic minority, and they therefore had a partisan reason for refusing to follow Senator Quay in his new tactics to secure the passage of his and their Statehood Bill. Indeed, the debate in the Senate upon the closure resolution indicated that it had few friends in either party, Senators of the most divergent views maintaining that under the present rules it is always possible to get a vote upon a bill which a majority strongly favor. The remainder of the history of the week, however, hardly sustained this optimistic view. Early in the week it was thought that the Republican conference to secure action on the pending treaties had reached a unanimous agreement that the Statehood Bill should not be allowed to prevent the ratification of the Panama treaty. But later in the week Senator Quay came to the support of Senator Morgan in prolonging the debate on that treaty, by having the Clerk of the Senate read the Constitution of the United States of Colombia, and by himself reading long documents which the Chair refused to allow the Clerk to read because obviously introduced for purposes of delay instead of enlightenment. In justification of his course, Senator Quay stated that the reaching of a vote on the Panama treaty was no more required by the principles of majority rule than the reaching of a vote upon the Statehood Bill, and he proposed to have the one bill as fully debated as the other. He said that at the Republican conference he had assented to action upon the Panama treaty because of representations that our option to purchase the canal lasted only till March 4, but that on the day after the conference the newspapers announced that the Attorney-General had prolonged the life of the option by telegraphing our Government's acceptance of the Company's offer whenever the treaty was ratified. Upon this point it must be said that the Attorney-General's action could not bind the Panama Company to prolong the option if it desired to close it. Between Senator Quay and Senator Morgan the Panama "debate" was continued to the end of the week, though, of course, behind closed doors, so that the public has no authoritative means of learning the nature of the criticisms Mr. Quay makes upon the treaty. His most telling point thus far appears to be the charge that our payment to Colombia was increased from $7,000,000 to $10,000,000 in order to provide funds to quiet the Colombian revolutionists, and his demand that the Government correspondence be given to the Senate to show the truth or falsity of this charge. In the main, however, his reported arguments against the treaty are disquisitions upon the relations of Church and State in Colombia, and other matter bearing but remotely upon the question at issue. The net effect of the week's developments is to intensify public impatience with filibustering tactics, and to strengthen

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popular demand for a carefully guarded rule of closure, by which debate can be brought to an end when every Senator opposed to any pending measure has been granted a reasonable time to present his criticism. Real debate should not be checked in the Senate, as it has been in the House, but obstruction should be put down.

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Philippine Relief Granted and Withheld

Among the unopposed measures which have been allowed to pass through the Senate despite the "deadlock" of its doors are two bills for the relief of the Philippines. The first of these appropriates the $3,000,000 asked by Governor Taft for the relief of the present famine and to procure draft animals necessary for the revival of agriculture. The other establishes a relatively stable currency for the islands. The latter measure, in the form in which it has passed the Senate and will doubtless be accepted by the House, comes very near following the plan first recommended by Governor Taft and Secretary Root. The standard of value is to be a gold peso, worth one-half of a gold dollar, but the general medium of exchange will continue to be a silver peso of about the size of the Mexican dollar so long used as the monetary unit. The silver peso is to be kept at par with the gold peso by restricting the coinage of the former and establishing a gold reserve for its redemption on demand. It will be virtually a promise to pay gold, printed upon silver instead of paper. The Democrats in the House had stood for the principle that the people of the islands should have the same currency as ourselves, but there was little opposition in the Senate to the proposal that a distinctive Philippine currency, closely resembling that in use, should be continued. Some of the Democrats even thought that a distinctive currency for the islands was a better preparatory measure for their future independence. The opposition of Senators from the silver-producing States was avoided by the acceptance of an amendment offered by Senator Patterson, of Colorado, providing for the calling of another international conference to devise a plan for a fixed rate of exchange between gold and silver using countries. As the only plan now seriously proposed by those in power to accomplish this end contemplates the abandonment of free coinage of silver by still other nations, including Mexico, the concession granted the Western Senators was not a victory for bimetallism. The Philippine legislation secured does not include the passage of the House bill reducing our tariff on Philippine products to twenty-five per cent.—instead of seventy-five per cent. as now—of the Dingley rates. The Senate Committee changed the rate to fifty per cent. at the demand of the sugar and tobacco representatives, but even the small concession which the amended bill would give is still withheld because opposed by these private interests.

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The Littlefield-Hoar Bill

Three of the eight Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee have voted with the Democrats to report favorably the Littlefield anti-trust bill, amended so as to render the measure more drastic. As amended, the bill not only restricts the use of the facilities of inter-State commerce by corporations which secure rebates and attempt to establish a monopoly by lowering prices in localities where competition is threatened, but also restricts the use of these facilities by corporations which "in any matter whatever" attempt to prevent competition. The amended bill also contains a definition of the word monopoly which accords with the popular use of the term. The fact that a combination may still have some competition—perhaps induced by the high prices it has established—does not, under the Hoar definition, keep it from constituting a monopoly in the eye of the law. For corporations hereafter formed the amended bill penalizes over-capitalization in a manner highly satisfactory to those who believe in distinguishing between capital representing investment and capital representing extortion. Over-capitalized corporations hereafter organized are denied the right to engage in inter-State commerce. Unfortunately, it is not believed that any action can be secured in the Senate upon this measure at this session.

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The Alaskan Commission

Last week it was announced that the three Commissioners to represent the United States on the Alaskan Boundary

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Commission would be Mr. Root, Secretary of War, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Senator Turner, of Washington; also that ex-Secretary of State Foster had been chosen to take charge of the case of the United States before the Commission. These appointments have been received with some disfavor in Canada; the Toronto "Mail and Empire" even calls upon the Dominion Government to protest. Though the Commissioners are admitted to be men of unquestioned ability and high character, the "Mail and Empire" declares that three men more disqualified by avowed prejudice or official commitment could not have been selected. "Jurists of repute they are, but impartial jurists they are not. . . . Secretary Root, being a member of the United States Government, is one of the parties to the dispute. The idea of a trial in which plaintiff or defendant should be a judge is too farcical to be thought of. . . . Senator Lodge has shown his unfitness for serving by his public utterances on the question. . . . A man so uncontrollably given up to an *ex parte* view cannot be accepted by this country as a member of the court. Senator Turner . . . has publicly stated that there is no case for reference. That is, he has made up his mind beforehand. He, therefore, has rendered himself incapable of sitting on that tribunal. . . . It was hoped that the President would have selected his jurists from the Supreme Court of the United States. To men so chosen, Canada could have no objection." The Hamilton "Herald" says that "the selection of these three men is little short of an affront to the British and Canadian Governments. It means that President Roosevelt is determined not to have a fair settlement based on the evidence, but to make sure that, in any event, there will be no danger of a settlement in harmony with Canada's claims." The Winnipeg "Telegram" adds: "While acknowledging the personal worth of the three gentlemen reported to have been appointed by the United States, we cannot but regard the appointment of active politicians as unfortunate. It probably means that the Senators who opposed the treaty altogether insisted, as the condition of ratifying the treaty, that men should be appointed who would be subject to popular feeling." On the other hand, the London "Spectator" regards Secretary Root as one of the ablest men now active in the Anglo-Saxon world of politics, and Senator Lodge as a man of great weight and influence, and a worthy representative of the best traditions of the Senate. Regarding Senator Turner the "Spectator" says: "He is less well known, at any rate on this side of the Atlantic, but we may be sure the President's choice has been wisely exercised, for Mr. Roosevelt would not choose inferior men."

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The Alaskan Difficulty It is unfortunate that the American appointees to the Alaskan Boundary Commission are not those whom Canadians expected, for the sentiment which has arisen throughout Canada is that people on this side the border are unreasonable in their interpretation of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 and of the Russo-American treaty of 1867, upon which the American claim is based. Those treaties provided that the eastern Alaskan boundary line should follow a mountain ridge parallel with the coast, if there be one not more than thirty marine miles from the coast; and if there be none, it should be drawn arbitrarily at that distance from the coast, following the windings thereof. The question turns on the use of the word "coast." Canada now holds that coast means the outermost edge of the outermost fringe of islands, from which the thirty miles should be measured inland, and that the coast line should not follow the winding, but run boldly from headland to headland. The United States, on the other hand, held and holds that "coast" means the edge of the mainland, and that all windings of the line between the headlands, six miles or more apart, should be followed. In this we are supported by the London "Spectator," which says: "It does seem to us, however, difficult to imagine that when the treaty asserts that the coast is the place from which the measurement is to be taken, it means anything but actual mainland—*i. e.*, conterminous land, and excluding all islands." The United States possesses, according to its interpretation of the treaty, a strip of coast land northward from Port Simpson, at fifty-four degrees forty minutes, unbroken by any inlet, affording

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Canada no seaport or access to the Pacific except through territory belonging to the United States. The Canadians have contended that the words of the treaty of 1825 might be construed so as to allow the British to have outlets to tidewater, and even to own the harbors; but this view is not supported by any of the maps published during the half-century following, and is distinctly denied by the act of the Hudson Bay Company in renting land and water privileges from the Russians; if Great Britain had owned a harbor on the Pacific, the Company would undoubtedly have availed itself of it and not paid rent. Canadians claim, however, that their view had already been substantiated in the discussion between Russia and Great Britain from 1820 to 1825, during which Count Nesselrode, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, said, according to a Canadian authority, "We limit our requirements to a mere strip of the continent, and, so that no objection be raised, we guarantee the free navigation of the rivers." This guarantee is incorporated in the treaty; yet, as the London "Spectator" says, if it were not intended to give to the Russians a strip thirty miles broad, why should Article VI. have so carefully protected British subjects in the right of free navigation of all the rivers and streams which, but for that stipulation, would have been barred by the strip of Russian territory? The first part of the adjudication before the Commissioners would seem to be fairly simple—the determination of the southernmost point of the Prince of Wales Island, of the identity of Portland Channel (despite Vancouver's ambiguous description of the channel, the only knowledge possessed by the Anglo-Russian negotiators), and of the line ascending that channel. The principal points at issue will be whether "a line parallel to the windings of the coast" is a line curving round all the indentations of the coast, whether the coast itself is a continuous strip or a series of disconnected fragments, and whether the watershed at White Pass, north of Lynn Canal, and only thirteen miles from Skagway, near the head of navigation, forms one of the points in the supposed mountain-line by which, under the early treaty, a boundary was sought to be established.

The Delaware Legislature on the Addicks Exposure

On Friday of last week State Senator Allee, of Delaware, one of Mr. Addicks's right-hand men, introduced the following resolutions into the Legislature of that State:

Whereas, In a recent article in a periodical known as The Outlook, one George Kennan makes the following statement: "Of the evidence obtainable in Delaware with regard to the use of depraved women as a means of disgracing legislators and enabling workers to hold or control doubtful men by threats of exposure it is not necessary at present to speak;" and

Whereas, This statement is a low, dirty, and incomprehensible lie, without any ground or justification therefor as far as this Legislature is concerned, or that of any other within our knowledge; and

Whereas, This statement is an insult to the Legislature of this State, and a gross reflection upon the fair fame of our Commonwealth; therefore be it

Resolved, Regardless of political differences of opinion, that we resent this pernicious falsehood, and direct a copy thereof to be sent to the aforesaid George Kennan as an expression of our views of this malicious defamation of Delaware.

By a combination of the Regular or anti-Addicks Republicans and the Democrats, these resolutions were voted down in the House and laid over in the Senate, and, in spite of the protest of the Addicks men, a counter resolution was passed in the Senate authorizing the purchase and distribution of a number of copies of The Outlook containing the article by Mr. Kennan, the object being to enable each legislator to see for himself what Mr. Kennan has said. The legislators of Delaware and the public generally will observe that Senator Allee's rhetorical resolution picks out for denial from all the charges of open, flagrant, and self-confessed corruption preferred, with dates and details, against Mr. Addicks and his adjutants, only one allusion. By passing in silence the greater and most important part of Mr. Kennan's charges Senator Allee and the Addicks Republicans virtually admit their truth. These resolutions are tantamount to a general plea of guilty, with a single reservation. In fact, Mr. Kennan has made no statement in either one of his three articles which, in the opinion of The Outlook and of competent lawyers who have been consulted, is not supported by legal evidence now in possession of Mr. Kennan and

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The Outlook. The action of the Legislature on Senator Allee's resolution is another indication of the persistence and courage with which the better elements of Delaware have fought the forces of corruption at Mr. Addicks's command for fourteen years.

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The Beef Trust Enjoined

The temporary injunction granted by Judge Grosscup, of the United States Circuit Court, in Chicago last week against the combination of packing-houses known as the Beef Trust, will renew popular faith in the vitality of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in the hands of an administration bent upon enforcing its provisions. Since the decision of the Supreme Court, in the suit brought for the dissolution of the Sugar Trust, that the act did not reach such a combination of manufacturers—as its provisions were directed only against monopolies in inter-State trade—the opinion has widely prevailed that the Sherman Act was valueless except against combinations of inter-State railroads and other carriers. The text of the Sugar Trust decision, however, did not warrant so pessimistic a conclusion, as the Court merely affirmed that the Sugar Trust's purchase of competing refineries in different States bore no direct relation to inter-State commerce, and therefore could not be prevented "in the mode attempted." Later decisions of the Federal Courts, in the cases of combinations controlling the sale in different States of cast-iron pipes (Addyston Pipe and Steel Company) and of coal (Coal Dealers' Association of California), have affirmed that such combinations come within the scope of the Sherman Act, and are in violation of its provisions. Judge Grosscup's decision last week, in a case far more important than either of these just mentioned, puts in striking terms the wide range of business transactions which cannot be restrained by a combination without violating the Sherman Act. In the eye of the law, said Judge Grosscup—

> commerce is not restricted to specific acts of sale or exchange. It includes the intercourse, all the initiatory and intervening acts, instrumentalities, and dealings, which directly bring about the sale or exchange. Thus, though the sale or exchange is a commercial act, so also is the solicitation of the drummer whose occupation it is to bring about the sale or exchange. The whole transaction, from initiation to culmination, is commerce. When commerce, thus broadly defined, is between parties dealing from different States, to be effected so far as the immediate act of exchange goes by transportation from State to State, it is "commerce between the States," within the meaning of the Constitution and the statute known as the Sherman Act.

Turning from the general principle thus lucidly stated to the combination of the packing-houses, the Court finds that both in the purchasing of cattle and in the sale of meat the houses engage in inter-State commerce. Inasmuch, therefore, as they are indicted for requiring their purchasing agents not to bid against each other, for bidding up, through their agents, the price of live stock for a few days to induce large shipments and then ceasing from bids when the shipments arrive, for agreeing upon prices, cartage charges, and the like, and for making agreements with transportation companies for discriminating rates, Judge Grosscup holds that their combination is within the reach of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and must be enjoined pending a trial as to the truth of the averments in the indictment.

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Judge Grosscup's Address

Judge Grosscup, who rendered this decision, has recently delivered before the students of the University of Michigan an address which seems to us to constitute both a new and a valuable contribution to the solution of our industrial problem. This address is so compact that it is difficult to give anything more than a hint as to its suggestion, which is what we here attempt to do:—A process of industrial consolidation is going on, in which the control of industry is rapidly narrowing, and the mass of the people are coming to be lookers-on or participants in industries in which they have no proprietorship. At the same time the people are growing in wealth—that is, in financial ability to have a share in the proprietorship. This is shown by a comparison of the growth of population, the growth of general wealth, and the growth of bank deposits. For example, from 1880 to 1890 the growth of population was about 20 per cent., the growth of general wealth about 25 per cent., the growth of bank deposits about 73 per cent. Again, from

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1890 to 1900 the growth of population was about 20 per cent., of the general wealth about 23 per cent., of the bank deposits 85 per cent. "Can any one explain this disproportion of the growth of uninvested capital—a disproportion beginning with activity in consolidation, and rising rapidly as consolidation increased—except upon the inference that the people, having little confidence in existing trust organization, have been thus cut out from ownership in the industries of the country? . . . Showing as they do that the people at large are withdrawing from ownership in the industries of the country, they point to a time in the near future, if the present methods of consolidation go on, when, barring the shopkeeper, the farmer, and the owner of city real estate, and barring the man who is willing to take chances upon an unknown venture, there will be but comparatively few proprietors among the run of citizens who ordinarily would be interested in the country's industries." It is true that these bank deposits furnish most of the capital upon which modern consolidation depends. But this does not give the people control of the industries. They are simply lenders of the capital on which the industries are carried on, and they get no other interest in the country's advancing prosperity except the interest on their deposits, which is less than was ever paid before. These facts are giving rise to widespread and increasing discontent among men of moderate capital, a feeling that somehow they have been deprived of their fair share in the rewards of industrial enterprise, and a growing inclination toward some form of Socialism, involving to a greater or less extent public ownership of most if not all means of production and distribution—a scheme which, in Judge Grosscup's opinion, is opposed to the fundamental and underlying conception of American life, and the secret of its real prosperity, the principle that "the man is everything, the State only an instrument for his protection and advancement." Thus "the separation of labor from proprietorship—the separate mobilization of these two forces as enemies instead of their commingling in common interest—is the most unrepublican and menacing fact that now confronts the American people." For if consolidation leading to monopoly is destructive of the Republic, in one way, Socialism, or the public ownership and the political organization of industry, is destructive in another. Socialism would "merge business into politics, and transfer industrial leadership from the men who think to the men who can pull wires and play the demagogue."

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The Remedy The remedy for these perils, according to Judge Grosscup, lies, not in the destruction of our industries, not in the arresting of their development, not in the transfer of industrial activities to the State, making them a political function, but in a process which will—to coin a word—"peopleize" the industries. This can be done by bringing the industries under such Government supervision and control as will make them safe subjects for public investment. "I believe that once corporate organization and management is cleared of thimblerigging and pitfalls, so that the fortunes of an enterprise will be bound up, not in an overstrained organization, but solely in the vicissitudes of the business itself, the American people will be found ready to take up again their share in the proprietorship of the country." This belief is founded on the following considerations: It is instinctive with the American people to acquire property. It was this instinct, as much as the desire for civil and religious liberty, that brought our fathers across the ocean, and has made their sons pioneers in building up the West. The instinct is "innate, persistent, unconquerable." The people have the means which would enable them to become the proprietors of the great industries. In the savings bank alone are accumulated nearly three billions of dollars. "This means that there is now, in the hands of the people, uninvested capital nearly sufficient to buy out, at the valuations of 1890, the existing manufactories, or the existing railroads, or one-half of the farm property of the country. It constitutes nearly one dollar in ten of all the dollars that measure the country's entire wealth; and what is more, it is available at any moment to enable the people at large to re-enter the proprietorship of the country." The owners of this capital are not afraid to invest. The fact that they

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have deposited this money in the savings banks shows not only that they possess the capital, but that they have faith in corporations to safeguard and to return interest on the capital. They have faith in these corporations because they are under government regulation and subject to government supervision—that is, the rights and interests of the people in them are adequately protected. All that is necessary, therefore, to transfer these deposits or a considerable proportion of them from the banks to the industrial corporations, and so transfer the control of the industrial corporations from the few capitalists to the great mass of the people who are the lenders, is to secure a recognized, uniform basis for corporate organization, a guarantee that the stock and bonds represent the real value of the corporation assets, not a fictitious value put upon them, and a provision for governmental visitation, through some proper department, so that it can guard the interests of stockholders, as they are now guarded in the National banks. The legislation already enacted by Congress is not adequate for this purpose, though it may be regarded as a movement in this direction. It is not necessary for us here, in reporting Judge Grosscup's address, to do more than add in the simplest phraseology our hearty indorsement. The churches, the schools, the government—that is, the religious, the educational, and the political institutions of the United States—are democratic in their structure. All the people are alike interested in them, all the people share in their control. What is necessary for the solution of our industrial problem is that all the people should have an interest and should share in the control of our industrial organizations. The method which Judge Grosscup has indicated seems to us far more hopeful of right results, and it is far more in accordance with the American spirit, than that State Socialism which finds its chiefest exponents in Germany.

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Macedonia and Bulgaria

Last week the Austro-Russian note outlining a programme of Macedonian reforms was approved by the various European Cabinets and submitted to the Sultan. The suggestions contained in this joint note should have due effect upon Abdul Hamid, since they are insisted upon by the unanimous action of the Powers. They are not as drastic as those suggested by M. Steeg, the French Consul at Salonika, which formed the basis of the note. His plan was: (1) That a Christian Governor should be appointed for Macedonia with full powers; (2) that soldiers should receive regular pay, so as no longer to be compelled to rob the inhabitants; (3) that tax-gatherers should be paid for their services, and their operations controlled; and (4) that both Christians and Muslims should be employed on the police and tax forces in such proportions as to correspond with the prevailing religion in each vilayet or district. The note as finally framed strikes out all reference to Macedonia; it was considered that the designation of one part of the country by name might increase the anti-foreign agitation which the Powers are professedly seeking to check. The note is generalized so as to cover all the localities where Christians reside. The protection of the lives and the complete safeguarding of the interest of the Christians form the chief features of the paper. Abdul Hamid will undoubtedly feel more inclined to grant these requests than those in M. Steeg's plan. That scheme had commended itself to the Powers because it would not have exceeded in cost the revenues of Macedonia, or would not have infringed upon the Sultan's territorial prerogatives, or even tended to dismember his Empire. The French Consul's plan had the further merit of not placing the Bulgarians in Macedonia above the Servians or the Greeks there. So great is the jealousy among these three classes of Christians that some of the Greeks have even declared their preference for the Turkish rule rather than the Bulgarian. With his customary cunning, Abdul Hamid has long played off these jealousies of one against another, and has believed, as do many Christians, that such animosities would make it impossible to constitute out of Macedonia an independent State, as the Powers had done with Bulgaria. Indeed, Bulgaria remains nominally a tributary State of the Turkish Empire under European protection, although created a quasi-independent principality in 1878 by the Congress of Berlin. It is

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from Bulgaria that nine-tenths of the present incitement to rebellion comes. Probably acting under pressure from the Powers, the Bulgarian Government last week arrested certain Macedonian revolutionists on Bulgarian soil, carefully not executing their arrest, however, until the most prominent had managed to escape. It would seem imperative to the welfare of Bulgaria that the Powers should remain without any doubt in regard to Prince Ferdinand's intention to keep the Macedonians within his borders quiet and orderly, and really to help the Powers in carrying out whatever scheme of pacification may be proposed. The good faith of the Bulgarian Government, since the arrests, has been not unnaturally questioned by the revolutionists, who have hitherto enjoyed a certain indirect countenance from it, and who now protest against its action. In Macedonia they have provoked a more serious conflict than any which has yet taken place. According to report, the disturbance occurred near Dubeny, and ninety Turkish soldiers were killed.

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In Venezuela The disputes with the allies now seem in a fair way of settlement, and Venezuela points to an award just made by Venezuelan courts in favor of the claims of American citizens as a proof of her desire to treat foreign creditors fairly. The blockade has been removed, and the captured gunboats are to be given back; as to this last matter President Castro has shown needless irritation at the delay of Germany in handing over the vessels. President Castro's action in increasing customs duties by thirty per cent., because thirty per cent. of the receipts are to be given to foreign creditors, seems at first almost humorous, but while it is improbable that the full amount needed can thus be raised, it is probable that Venezuela's net receipts may be increased to some extent—at the expense, of course, of the consumer and taxpayer. But while Venezuela's foreign outlook is brighter, her internal strife seems to be becoming even more serious than it has been—and for at least two years it has been serious enough. It is now reported that a revolutionary army, estimated at 2,800 men, has reached a point about twenty miles south of Caracas, that the revolutionists and the Government troops both occupy strong positions, and that a decisive battle is probable. The revolution begun by General Matos during the course of the blockade of the Venezuelan coast by the allied war-ships has been reorganized, it is said (all reports about revolutionary movements in South America are likely to be flatly contradicted by the next mail), and three armies have been formed. Elsewhere in this issue will be found an article from The Outlook's correspondent in Venezuela, Mr. James Barnes, which gives an illuminating view of political methods and popular indifference in that country.

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The Pope's Jubilee Last week Leo XIII. celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election to the Pontificate, an occasion of interest not only to Roman Catholics but also to Protestant Christians. "It seems impossible that it is twenty-five years since I have been there!" was his exclamation as he looked from the window of his apartments early in the morning into the sunlit Piazza of St. Peter's. Although the cathedral of St. Peter's is considered a part of the Vatican, the Piazza, or large oval square in front, is not; and the Pontiff was referring to his long term of self-imposed imprisonment, during which he has never gone beyond the Vatican's bounds. The Pope held his jubilee in the Hall of Beatification, situated above the portico of St. Peter's, and also the adjoining Sala Ducale and Sala Regia. It was estimated that the three rooms held five thousand persons. Many more thousands crowded the great cathedral below, where simultaneously a solemn thanksgiving service was held. Leo XIII. was dressed in full Pontifical robes, and wore on his head the triple crown. He was carried in the *sedia gestatoria* by eight men clothed in red brocade, preceded by the Sistine choir, and was surrounded by the Noble Guard, whose presence was really necessary for protection, on account of the intense desire of the faithful to touch the hem of the Pope's gown. The Pontiff has never been received with greater or more genuine enthusiasm. The ceremony included the reading of an address by Cardinal Respighi, Vicar of Rome, offering to the

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Pope a gold tiara (the twenty-five-thousand-dollar jubilee present of the Roman Catholic world), together with a purse of forty thousand dollars. Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, read an address and presented the gold, silver, and bronze commemorative medals. A third address was read by Cardinal Boschi, who presented the symbolic keys and another purse of forty thousand dollars. In reply, his Holiness expressed satisfaction at the manifestation of which he is the object on the part of the faithful; but especially that, for the second time in a century, "Christ has wished to glorify his Vicar on earth by allowing him to reach the years of St. Peter." Protestants as well as Roman Catholics will join in the wish that a century of years may be granted to Leo XIII., in many respects the most distinguished and useful Pope who has ever filled St. Peter's chair.

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Professor Delitzsch and the Emperor of Germany

Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, son of the late Professor Franz Delitzsch, has been for some time carrying on explorations in Assyria, with the sanction of the German Emperor, who has subscribed to the funds by which these explorations have been carried on. Professor Delitzsch's discoveries have excited marked interest; but his deductions from these discoveries have excited still more opposition and apprehension. Like some others of the same school, he has shown a tendency to draw very large conclusions from small premises, and also to depart from scientific exploration and enter the domain of dogmatic theology. These tendencies would probably have no great concern to the orthodox but for the impression that he is indorsed by the German Emperor, who is the head of the Church. This impression has led the Emperor to define his position in a published letter which is of no inconsiderable importance to the world at large as well as to the Established Church of Germany. He criticises Professor Delitzsch for the tendencies to which we have referred, and expresses his radical dissent from certain of Professor Delitzsch's theological deductions, especially the denial of the divinity and the Messiahship of Jesus Christ. He very truly says, "We prosecute excavations and publish the results thereof in behalf of science and history, not to confirm or attack religious hypotheses with Professor Delitzsch, the theologian who has run away with the historian." It is a pity that Professor Delitzsch had not realized that, to be truly valuable, his investigations should have been made, and their results reported, in this non-polemical, non-theological, scientific spirit.

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The Emperor's Definition of Revelation

The Emperor then goes on to define his own views respecting revelation, in a paragraph which indicates his possession of a theological thoughtfulness and acumen which have not generally been attributed to him:

I distinguish between two different kinds of revelation—one progressive and, as it were, historical; the other purely religious, as preparing the way for the future Messiah. Regarding the former it must be said—for me, it does not admit of a doubt, not even the slightest—that God revealed himself continuously in the race of men created by him. He blew into man the breath of his life, and follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race. In order to lead it forward and develop it he reveals himself in this or that great sage, whether priest or king, whether among the heathen, Jews, or Christians. Hammurabi was one; so was Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and Emperor William the Great. These he sought out, and endowed with his grace, to accomplish splendid, imperishable results for their people, in their intellectual and physical provinces, according to his will. How often my grandfather pointed out that he was only an instrument in the Lord's hands! The second form of revelation, the more religious, is that which leads to the manifestation of our Lord. It was introduced with Abraham, slow but forward-looking and omniscient, for humanity was lost without it. Now begins the most astonishing activity of God's revelation. Abraham's race and the peoples developing from it regard faith in one God as their holiest possession, and, it follows, hold fast to it with ironlike consistency. Split up during their Egyptian captivity, the divided elements were again welded together by Moses, ever trying to hold fast to their monotheism. It was the direct intervention of God that caused the rejuvenation of this people, thus proved through centuries, till the Messiah, heralded by prophets and psalmists, finally appeared, the greatest revelation of God in the world, for he appeared in the Son himself. Christ is God—God in human form. He redeemed us and inspires us, entices us to follow him. We feel his fire burning in us. His sympathy strengthens us. His discontent destroys us. But, also, his intercession saves us. Conscious of victory, building solely upon

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his word, we go through labor, ridicule, sorrow, misery and death, for we have in him God's revealed word, and He never lies.

The New York "Sun," which has heretofore regarded all doubts of the infallibility of the Scriptures as incidentally leading to infidelity if not as constituting the essence of infidelity itself, seems to have undergone a sudden change of convictions as the result of this letter of the German Emperor. Connecting it very properly with the act of the Pope, last October, constituting a commission for the special study of the Bible in a free and scientific manner, making use in their study of "authors outside the Church, especially in matters of criticism," the "Sun" takes the occasion to declare that "in the Protestant world almost every scholar of distinction, and the vast majority of learned theologians, are on the side of the new critics," and recognizes, we are glad to see, that "a very great change, a tremendous religious revolution, is involved in this new view and new method of criticism of the Bible so generally accepted on the authority of science and scholarship, and even of teachers of religion and theology themselves." It is clearly worse than futile for clergymen to insist that there is no such revolution; clearly their duty to prepare their congregations to meet it, by showing them that the religious life is not identified with or dependent upon the old unscientific view of the Scripture as an infallible rule of faith and practice, and as constituting, not merely a supreme minister to faith, but the foundation on which faith must rest.

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The Bachelor's Degree at Harvard

President Eliot's annual reports are always interesting because they bring one or two aspects of the educational condition into striking prominence. The report this year comments at length upon two facts which are of special interest to the country at large. It is significant that, within a very few months, the Presidents of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia Universities have all spoken on the question of the length of the college course, the value of the bachelor's degree, or the standard of requirements for admission to the professional schools. These topics are the focal points of discussion in the academic world of to-day. President Eliot emphatically declares that at Harvard no step will be taken in the direction of lessening the requirements for the bachelor's degree. Reviewing the recent steps by which the requirements for that degree have been brought to their present state, President Eliot says: "It is obvious from this review that the three years' course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard University is intended to demand as much work and as high attainments as are demanded in the four years' course;" and he adds that the governing boards and faculty of Harvard have no intention of permitting the requirements for that degree to be lowered, although they have made it possible for students to attain the degree in three or three and a half years instead of four. "Harvard University," he continues, "has no sympathy with any efforts to lower the plane of the degree of Bachelor of Arts, or substitute for it an inferior degree." After giving the percentage of men who hold preliminary degrees and are now in the professional schools in nine American universities, ranging from 78.1 in Harvard to 12.3 in Cornell, President Eliot declares: "There is no more important question in the higher education in America than this: 'Shall the professional schools in university towns be open to uneducated persons, or persons of very slight education, or shall all require for admission a preliminary degree in the arts or sciences?'" Harvard University, he declares, has definitely determined to require for admission to its professional schools a preliminary degree, and has already applied this policy to all its professional schools except the dental schools, with the result of securing a striking improvement in these schools.

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Does the Educated Class Reproduce Itself?

The subject which will interest the greatest number of people in President Eliot's report is that of the vital statistics of six Harvard classes more than twenty-five years out of college. These figures show that the average number of children born to the members of these classes is about two in each family. In the case of one class the number of children is exactly twice the number of married members, while in two other classes the number of children is within one of twice the number of married

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members. "If it be assumed that the surviving children are about one-half males, it follows that these six classes have by no means reproduced themselves. . . . They have, indeed, fallen 28 per cent. short of it." President Eliot reaches the conclusion that the highly educated part of the American people does not increase the population at all, but, on the contrary, fails to reproduce itself. This is due in part, he thinks, to the late postponement of marriage on the part of educated young men; a postponement which is compelled by reason of the protracted education now a requirement of entering the scientific and learned professions.

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Editorial Changes

The death of Mr. Edward Perkins Clark, for eighteen years a member of the editorial staff of the "Evening Post," of this city, marks the end of a professional life of unusual intelligence and devotion. Mr. Clark was the son of a Congregational clergyman, and received a thorough New England education at Phillips Academy and Yale College. He began his career as a journalist in the office of the Springfield "Republican," was later a member of the editorial staff of the Philadelphia "Times," and still later acted as Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia "Press" and the Springfield "Republican." In 1881 he became associated with the Milwaukee "Sentinel." A year later he came to New York and became connected with the Brooklyn "Standard Union," where he remained two years. His association with the "Evening Post" dates from 1885. To his work on that influential journal Mr. Clark brought thorough journalistic training. He had considerable experience in his profession; he had American political history at easy command, and he knew the public lives of men of several generations. He studied local political movements with the utmost attention, and had at all times a minute knowledge of the political situation in different parts of the country. The thoroughness with which his journalistic work was done was evidenced in the skill and persistency with which he fought against the Blair bill, which proposed to organize and conduct public education in the South at the expense of the Federal Treasury, and with which he uncovered years ago the abuses of the pension system. He was a man of unblemished integrity, of indefatigable industry, and full of delicate consideration for others. A further change in the staff of the "Evening Post" is made by the retirement of Mr. Horace White from the position of chief editor, and the promotion of Mr. Rollo Ogden to that position. Mr. Ogden is a graduate of Williams College, and has been for nearly twelve years a member of the editorial staff of the "Evening Post." He brings to his delicate and difficult work thorough scholarship in several departments, trained literary judgment and skill, and a rare degree of independence of opinion and action. The accession to a position of such influence of a man of Mr. Ogden's personal character and intellectual qualities is a very gratifying evidence of the fact that journalism in this country still offers great prizes to men of high capacity.

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Mr. Conried and the Opera

Lovers of music are deeply gratified by the selection of Mr. Heinrich Conried, manager of the Irving Place Theater in this city, to succeed Mr. Maurice Grau as manager of the opera for the next five years. Mr. Conried possesses the double qualifications necessary for a thoroughly successful high-class management of the opera: he is a business man of large experience, who has demonstrated his practical sagacity by his success, and he is also a man of artistic education and taste, who has treated the drama as literature and not simply as a means of making money. The performances given under his direction at the Irving Place Theater have been conspicuous, not only because actors of first-class ability have appeared in them, but because all the details have been supervised with the utmost care, and everything possible has been done to give the plays artistic harmony and completeness. This is precisely what the opera at the Metropolitan Opera-House has lacked. New York has had at times the most brilliant singing to be found in any city in the world. It has had, not only stars of the first magnitude, but constellations—groups of artists of the highest rank; but the details of the opera have been sadly overlooked and undervalued,

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and the performance has therefore lacked, so far as the management is concerned, thorough artistic treatment and artistic feeling. It is precisely these qualities that Mr. Conried will undoubtedly introduce into his management. He has had very large experience in studying the resources of the drama abroad and in negotiating with foreign artists, and this experience will serve him in good stead when he transfers his work from the dramatic to the operatic stage. The public may confidently look, not only for the appearance of great singers in the Metropolitan Opera-House, but for careful and artistic stage management; for the treatment of the opera as one of the great arts, and not simply as an instrument of pleasure or a means of making money. Mr. Grau, who is a man of great energy and persistence, has laid a strong financial foundation on which Mr. Conried will be able to build up an artistic success. Mr. Herz, who will remain at the Opera-House, is an admirable conductor; and the reputation of the house is such that the best singers in the world are very glad to form engagements with its manager.

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Musical Aims and Business Principles

The Chicago Orchestra has been, ever since its establishment, one of the notable agencies contributing to the musical life of the United States. Theodore Thomas, who has done as much for the development of American musical taste as any other man, has been its conductor, and by means of it has done much to create and foster the higher life of the city. Successful though the orchestra has been, it has not been self-sustaining. Its experience has been that of almost every institution genuinely devoted to the cultivation of art or education. The trustees of the organization, having faced a deficit each year, and recognizing the fact that the sinking of money in the payment of an annual deficit "does not appeal to the average imagination," have issued a letter to "the patrons of the Chicago Orchestra." The soundness of the business principles they there set forth, and the genuineness of the high artistic aims they assert, are rare in combination. In this letter they make known the fact that at the close of last season they had formally resolved to disband the orchestra unless adequate endowment could be secured. In this they had the hearty approval of Theodore Thomas. They declined to consider putting the orchestra on a so-called "business basis" by reducing salaries and lowering the standards of quality in the selection and performance of music. Regarding the orchestra they say that they "have carried it on hitherto as an art and educational institution worthy of endowment, and would courteously decline to take further interest in it if it is to become a mere amusement enterprise." They announce that a subscription of $750,000 is needed. Of this amount $100,000 has already been raised. A lot for the site of a building has been purchased, where it is hoped a permanent home for the orchestra will be erected which will stand as a center of musical life. Disbandment or endowment is, therefore, the issue. It is to be hoped that the danger of disbandment will not last long. In comparison with the action of the trustees of the Chicago Orchestra, the action, or rather the deliberate inaction, of the New York Philharmonic Society, of which Theodore Thomas was conductor before he went to Chicago, affords a disheartening contrast. It is not necessary here to recount details. It is enough simply to say that Walter Damrosch, who undertook to vitalize the orchestra, has found its members unwilling to be vitalized, and therefore has made his decision to withdraw at the end of the present season.

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The Continued Assault on the Tenement Law

As the readers of The Outlook know, several bills changing the present requirements as to the building of tenement-houses have been introduced into the New York Legislature. The provisions of these bills are so indefensible that the only pretense at defense of them that has been made has taken the form of personal and virulent attack upon those who have brought about the present most salutary law. It is very evident that these disgraceful measures have been proposed simply in order to frighten the supporters of the present law into making some concessions. It is likely that the practical withdrawal of the nefarious Marshall bill will be followed by the withdrawal of its fellows. But these with-

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drawals are in turn likely to be followed by the introduction of other amendatory bills which will appear mild by comparison, but which will nevertheless be utterly pernicious. This policy that has been followed by the assailants of the tenement-house law can have but one effect upon people of self-respect. It will stiffen them against any kind of change. For it has made it impossible for any change to be made without the effect of concession. When the forces that are at work for disease and death are making an assault upon public health and life and character, it is no time for concession. The present, therefore, is no time for any change whatever. Citizens of New York State who do not believe in spreading tuberculosis and social evil by law should protest against whatever change has been or may be proposed. They can do so by writing to Governor B. B. Odell, Jr., Albany, N. Y., Mayor Seth Low, New York, N. Y., and to the Hon. Horace White and the Hon. Jean L. Burnett, Chairmen of the Cities' Committees of the State Senate and Assembly respectively, and to their own Senator and Assemblyman.

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Unparalleled Impudence

One of the most significant documents in the extraordinary campaign now being waged between J. Edward Addicks and the State of Delaware is a mandate issued by Mr. Addicks and signed by his initials. It will not bear condensation:

On the Republican side there are but two things the bolters can do.

First—The ten men now voting against J. Edward Addicks can come into a common caucus of thirty-one Republicans. In this case Mr. Addicks will withdraw and his twenty-one friends will nominate two Union Republican Senators as near to Mr. Addicks as possible, and the whole thirty-one will elect them. Of course, if the bolters can find any way whereby ten men can beat twenty-one, they can nominate one of the Senators.

Second—Each side can elect one senator without dictation from the other side. In this case Mr. Addicks will be the choice of the Union Republicans. No dictation will be permitted by the Union Republicans.

On the Democratic side the Democrats can join the bolters and elect anybody the coalition pleases. This cannot be prevented by the Union Republicans, and they would not lift a hand to prevent it.

As to the future position of the Union Republicans—in no event will any more notice be taken of the bolters in Newcastle County. No more common primaries will be tolerated which would be binding on honorable Union Republicans and not binding on bolters. *No man who refused to vote for J. Edward Addicks in the Legislature will ever be allowed to hold any office in Delaware, nor will any bolter sympathizers be permitted to come to the front.* Union Republicans will nominate a straight ticket in Wilmington and throughout the State in the long future. As to the appointments—Congressman Ball cannot get a Federal appointment. After March 4 the appointments, according to custom, ought to go to the Chairman of the Union Republican State Committee and the National Committeeman, J. Edward Addicks. We will see where the power will lie.

The first impression produced by this letter is its extraordinary effrontery. Never, perhaps, in the history of attacks on free institutions has there been a piece of more brazen insolence than the attempt of a man who has no place in the government of a State, who is a private person of such record and character that no office ought to be open to him in any decent community, to dictate the policy of his own party and the political fate of the members of the Legislature. Such a document issued by the Czar of Russia would call forth sharp criticism throughout Europe; and the Czar is not only an absolute ruler, but a man of the highest personal character; such a document issued by a private citizen of Mr. Addicks's record, in a State governed by popular suffrage, in a country governed by a popular constitution, is an anomaly which foreign students of our politics will be greatly perplexed to explain.

More important, however, is the searching light which this letter throws on the system of appointing office-holders under the National Government. When Mr. Addicks declares that no man who refuses to vote for him in the Legislature will ever be allowed to hold any office in Delaware, and no bolter sympathizers will be permitted to come to the front in that State, he plays the part of a boss clothed with absolute power; but when he declares that after March 4 the appointments ought to go to the Chairman of the Union Republican State Committee and the National Committeeman, J. Edward Addicks, and adds, "We will see where the power will lie," he brings into striking relief the un-American, unbusinesslike, and corrupt and corrupting system which now, by tra-

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dition, and by what is called the courtesy of the Senate, has made the President of the United States, in his best estate, the servant of a party, and has made of the United States Senate—the highest legislative body in the country—a brokerage office for the distribution of patronage. It is well known that there are many Senators who make it their principal business, not to attend to public affairs, to examine public questions, discuss public problems, or to consider public interests, but to watch the lists of office-holders, note every death, resignation, or removal, and promptly apply for the vacancy. Sent to the capital to represent a sovereign State, they use their position simply for doing a brokerage business in the distribution of Federal offices. So thoroughly has this system been organized, so highly developed has it become by expert practice, that it is now an automatic machine. The President of the United States, charged solely to care for the interests of the people of the country and to appoint men to care for those interests, is expected to consult the Senators from each State, and the Senators are expected to recommend men who are known as "regular;" that is to say, men who have always stood for their party, and can be counted on to do party work. If the President ventures to make an appointment of an eminently fit man on his own motion, or to refuse to appoint an eminently unfit man, he is confronted by both parties in the Senate, one party standing by the other as a matter of "Senatorial courtesy," and in order to preserve a system which degrades the Senate, which has seriously impaired its prestige, which makes the representatives of sovereign States in the National capital the hired men of political organizations, and which reverses the real method and the true intent in the appointment of public officers. Mr. Addicks has served at least one good purpose, as men of his character and reputation often do: he has, in his own life and actions, illustrated in the most concrete way the worst vices of our political system; he has shown how heinous and offensive they are when they are brought from under cover; and he has now made clear, as it has never been made clear before, the prostitution of the public service to the system of patronage.

Lenten Meditations

The Divine Companion

A desert. Far as the eye can see, a waste of sand. No house, nor tree, nor refuge from the hot sun in all the extended plain. Two figures—a boy and his mother: cruelly exiled from their former home by the father, at the demand of the jealous and more cruel wife; friendless, homeless, wanderers. The water in their gourd is spent; the boy lies by the side of a desert shrub, in the poor shelter which it furnishes from the burning sun, breathing out his life through parched lips. The mother sits weeping at a little distance, as it were a bow-shot, that she may not see him die. And close by his side, feeding the roots of the shrub, the secret of its life, is a hidden spring, the secret of his life also if he did but know it.

So, with infinite pathos, men lie dying close to the source of life and know it not. The Great Companion is by our side and we see him not. He speaks our name and we hear him not. Or, if we think of him as present, it is but to fear him—worst fate of all: to fear the Great Companion, the dearest and most patient Friend. As a child, frightened by its own dreams, repels the mother who would clasp it to her arms, and imagines her the monster whose shadowy form has terrified it, so we add to the terrors of our life by an unreasoning terror of Him who would give us courage to overcome at once our fears and our foes. We are afraid of the voice of God in the garden, and hide ourselves because we are naked and ashamed; we know not that He comes to clothe us.

"I will not leave you orphans." What is an orphan? One from whom the Father has departed. The son looks back across the years to the faded memory of a father gone; forward through the years to a dim hope of a father to be met again in the celestial land. But there is no father here, to counsel, to encourage, to inspire, to provide. Alas for the orphaned Christians who look back nineteen centuries to a time when God lived with men and talked to them; forward through the vista of the years to a distant time, in some other land than this, when they hope to see God face to face; but who are now

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uncounseled, unencouraged, uninspired, unprovided! To such, God is a fading memory or a dim hope; they know not the Great Companion. They believe in him as the God of Abraham but not of Governor Bradford, the God of Moses but not of Lincoln, the God of David but not of Browning, the God of Paul but not of Phillips Brooks. They even have to reinforce their faith in a God that was and is to be, by theistic arguments, as if Hagar should argue that there must have been a spring of water once or the shrub could not have grown; and all the while she had but to scrape away the sand in order to find it there, a fountain of life for her and her child.

"I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Companion, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth in you, and shall be with you."

God is not a vision: he is an experience. Call not this voice of conscience commanding "Thou shalt not," this voice of aspiration calling "Follow me," the voice of your better nature. It is the voice of the Divine Companion; it is the voice of Jehovah, the voice of Jesus Christ. Mount Sinai and the Mount of Beatitudes are both within our own souls. It is He who speaks to us. And we hear Him not. How can the gold-seeker in Alberich's cavern see the sunlight in which is life? How can the prisoner working in the mines hear the voice of the lark? Nay! how shall even Elijah, in the midst of the wind, the earthquake, and the fire, hear the still, small voice? We are called by many an exhortation to the strenuous life; and this is right. But if we are to live the strenuous life well and wisely, strongly and bravely, we need also the silent life. "Be still, and know that I am God."

Why should these wakeful hours in the night worry you? Why should you toss wearily on your bed? or rise and read, that you may banish wakefulness and recover sleep? These are the best hours of all the twenty-four, if you did but know it. So the Psalmist found them:

My soul shall be satisfied
As with marrow and fatness;
And my mouth shall praise thee
With joyful lips;
When I remember thee upon my bed,
And meditate on thee in the night watches.

The Great Companion is not dead; he is not departed. Cry not aloud; for he is not talking, nor pursuing, nor on a journey, nor sleeping, that he must be awaked. He is the living God. We need no argument to prove that He is; not more than do the fishes to prove the water in which they swim, or the flowers to prove the sunlight from which they take their colors and their fragrance. In Him we live and move and have our being. The world seeth Him not; but we see Him, because He lives and we also live.

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The Department of Commerce

In the special interest which has attached to the anti-trust legislation, and the powers conferred by it upon the new Secretary of Commerce, the significance of the act creating the Department of Commerce, with a rank equal to that of the other Departments of Government, has been lost sight of. But it is significant of a very great revolution which has been accomplished in American public sentiment since the days of Jefferson. The object of this bill is in general terms well defined by President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress, in calling for the creation of such a Department. He says:

> It should be the province of the head of such a department to deal with commerce in its broadest sense, including, among many other things, whatever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine. The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship, for the purpose of broadening our markets, securing our business interests on a safe basis, and making firm our new position in the international industrial world, while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of wage-worker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man in this republic.

The adoption by Congress of this recommendation is a distinct recognition of the fact that the Nation, *as a Nation*, has commercial interests, which it is the duty of the Federal Government to take cognizance of and protect and promote.

Roughly speaking, there are three

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theories of government, which may be respectively designated as paternalism, individualism, and fraternalism. According to paternalism, it is the duty of one man or of a few best men in the community to take care of the interests of the many, as of the father to take care of the interests of his children. According to individualism, it is the duty of government to govern, and to do little or nothing else. When it has protected persons and property, and done a few absolutely necessary things, such as to provide a postal system for intercommunication and to build lighthouses to make harbors safe, its duty is ended. It must leave every individual to take care of his own interests, without interference from or supervision of government. Fraternalism is the theory that a community is a brotherhood; that it has common interests; that it may wisely by common action provide for these common interests; that governing, that is, protecting the natural rights of the individual, does not exhaust its powers nor fulfill its duties. It may therefore, *as a community*, provide education for all the children of the community; it may by legislation protect and promote industrial development by excluding foreign competition; it may, in the case of a city, provide, own, and if necessary operate the systems of lighting, water supply, and transportation; it may own and operate the telegraph as in England, or the railroads as in Germany, or the express business as in Switzerland.

The creation of a National Department of Commerce is a recognition of this principle of fraternalism applied to commerce; by it the Nation says to itself, We the people of the United States have industrial and commercial interests, which are other than and may be opposed to the real or supposed interests of the individuals who control and carry on the industries and the commerce of the country, and we propose to have an officer appointed to look after these interests of ours, and, in so far as it becomes necessary, we propose to make these individual interests subservient to the public welfare. Those who believe that the individualism of Jefferson is the final stage in political progress will look on this creation of a Department of Commerce with regret as perilous to individual liberty and individual progress. Those who, with The Outlook, believe in fraternalism will welcome the creation of a Department of Commerce, as a valuable and important recognition of a sound principle of political action and a wise and important step in our development toward a greater industrial and commercial homogeneity, and a subordination of purely egoistic and personal interests to those of the great body of the people. The President could not well have found a man better fitted to have charge of this experimental Department than Mr. Cortelyou, who as private secretary to President McKinley and President Roosevelt has shown rare ability as a judge of men, a power of sustained application to service that is remarkable, and sound judgment in public affairs. The appointment of Mr. James R. Garfield as the Commissioner of Corporations in the new Department is a deserved recognition of his effective work on the Civil Service Commission.

❀

The Better Way

Society has its moods of exaltation and depression precisely as individuals have such moods. Bad quarters-of-an-hour come to nations as they come to individual men and women, and from the same causes—some outgoing of energy, some decline of power, some sickness of mind or body, some great experience which for the moment benumbs or overwhelms. These moods of depression, although they are at times inevitable, ought always to be regarded as passing, as abnormal, and as unwholesome if one stays in them too long. Even the greatest sorrows have their lessons of strength and sweetness, and the man or woman who has real spiritual health sooner or later gets the strength and passes out of the depression.

The first half of the last century was in many respects a time of exaltation, of high hopefulness; the last half of it was a period of spiritual reaction and of the depression which comes from the decline of hope. This mood of hesitation, of doubt, sometimes of despair, has continued so long, has expressed itself through so many of the arts, has penetrated so much thinking and feeling, that a good many people have come to regard it as the normal attitude towards life.

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Poetry and fiction have long been full of the misery, the uncertainties, the disappointments of life; fiction has dealt continually, though by no means exclusively, with the diseases of society and of men, with morbid passion, morbid psychology, morbid character in all its phases. The hard and apparently cruel side of nature has been emphasized in many ways by many writers, until many have come to believe that nature is a vast and heartless mechanism stained by blood and dominated by cruelty.

Commenting upon this impression conveyed by some writers on nature, President Eliot has said that the fact that such a notion should find acceptance to-day and make people miserable "only illustrates the curious liability of the human intelligence to sudden collapse;" and he adds this great and significant fact, which such people are constantly forgetting: "The great solid conviction which science within the past three centuries has enabled thinking men and women to settle down on is that all discovered and systematized knowledge is as nothing compared with the undiscovered, and that a boundless universe of unimagined facts and forces interpenetrates and encompasses what seems the universe to us. In spite of this impregnable conviction, people distress themselves because, forsooth, they cannot discern the moral purpose or complete spiritual intent of this dimly seen, fractional universe which is all we know. Why should they discern it?"

Professor William James, in one of his books, used a striking illustration of the misconception into which partial knowledge constantly leads men, and from which they would be delivered if they could go a single step further. He imagines the feelings of a dog who is laid on the vivisection-table and surrounded by surgeons who seem to him to be monsters of cruelty bent only on torture. If the dog could go a step further, he would know that the men who surround him are eager observers, trying to make discoveries in order to prevent and relieve the causes of pain. If it be true, as some people insist, that we have no right in any way to affirm the character of an unknown universe, then the pessimists are as illogical as the optimists. They have no more foundation for their gloom than cheerful souls have for their brightness; but with this immense difference, that pessimism is an intolerable working theory of life, while optimism is not only the most cheering and helpful theory of life, but it fosters and brings out the highest energy, noblest purposes, and the best spirit of men. Ultimate hope has its own foundations; but, to put it on the lowest basis, if one has to choose between hopes that he cannot demonstrate and fears that he cannot prove, it is wiser to go with one's hopes and turn one's back on one's fears.

The Impressions of a Careless Traveler

X.

April 24.

A QUIET day at sea; to-morrow we bring our yachting experiences to a close, bid good-by to the Prinzessin, and disembark at Naples for six weeks in Italy. This will be a good time to put down here one or two general impressions concerning this trip, such as belong to no particular date or place. There is certainly a peculiar charm in this way of seeing the world. Our voyage has been so planned that we have generally sailed at night, arrived at our next port in the early morning, have had the day for sightseeing, have had our luncheon on shore, and have returned to the yacht in time to dress for dinner. That ocean travel sometimes grows monotonous for want of topics for conversation every ocean traveler recognizes. But since we entered the Mediterranean there has been no dearth of topics for conversation. We exchange with one another our views and experiences of the preceding shore excursion, get our neighbor's impression and fasten our own impression on our mind by giving him ours in turn. There is no lack of conversation in the smoking-room, the social hall, on deck, or at the dinner-table. We have a very pleasant contingent of passengers; since we left Genoa, where many Americans went on shore and

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many Germans came on board, we have a little over a hundred Germans and a little less than fifty English and Americans. There is plenty of drinking—it is astonishing how much beer a German can consume—but no drunkenness: I believe others of our party one day saw two young men the worse for liquor, and I have seen some more as the result of a shore experience in Russia, but this is all; there is card-playing, but I have seen no gambling. I think it may be fairly said that we have no swells, no cads, and no bores on board; the "fast lot" are conspicuously absent. Since we entered the Mediterranean on the 24th day of March, a very pleasant feature of our life has been afternoon tea and coffee, served at a table on the promenade deck. Forty or fifty passengers, perhaps more, gather about the table about half-past four o'clock, and the informal gathering furnishes a very good occasion for making a new acquaintance or for brief, scrappy conversation with those already made. Ernest, the chief deck steward, presides at this table with the courtesy of a host, and serves his guests as though it were his delight, not merely his business. He is first on the deck in the morning, the last to leave it at night, is never ruffled, never hurried, never brusque, always affable. I wish I might hope to continue on shore some of the very pleasant acquaintances I have made on shipboard; but I am well aware that steamship fellow-passengers are "ships that pass in the night," and acquaintance formed on a steamer is generally sundered on disembarking. We have none of the worry of travel, no trunks to unpack and repack, no railroad time-tables to consult, no tickets to buy, no problems to solve respecting our accommodations at hotels, no perils to digestion in constant changes of diet and irregularity in meals. Our steamer is our home; to it we come every night as we would to our hotel on shore, and very welcome we find our home-coming. It is true that we often wish that our yacht would remain longer in port. I would have liked a full day more in Genoa, at least three days in Palermo, and I cannot tell how many would have contented me at Athens; but other of our passengers would probably have liked three days at Monte Carlo. If it were my private yacht, I could remain in any port as long as I chose; but I should certainly have a party of a dozen or twenty friends on board, and it would be impossible to suit them all; some would be impatient to go on, others would wonder why we sailed so soon. On the whole, I think I prefer the restfulness of being under orders to the responsibility of giving them. I am inclined to consider this an ideal way of seeing so much of the world as lies near to navigable waters.

I am thankful that I was endowed by nature with some sense of humor, for I have gotten a good deal of fun out of what otherwise would have driven me distracted. I have been the treasurer of our little party, and have had to keep accounts in nine different currencies: American, German, Portuguese, English, Italian, French, Turkish, Russian, and Greek. I hope our purser has also a sense of humor, for it is a part of his business to keep an exchange office for the whole ship's company, which he does with a good nature which nothing can disturb, and a promptitude of reckoning which is a perpetual surprise to me. The library steward, who sells postage-stamps and postal cards, takes with equal facility money from every land under the sun, and hands out the postage-stamp which is called for, quite indifferent whether the coinage offered is of the country which issues the postage-stamp requested. On board the boat I find employment for my leisure hours in reducing my cash account to one coinage, generally French, so as to distribute the expenditures correctly; but on shore this is more difficult. In Athens I went out in the evening to buy some oranges, inquired the price, had no idea of the meaning of the answer, took two oranges, handed out the smallest coin I had, fully expected to have the vender call for another, and, on the contrary, had him give me back half a dozen or more still smaller coins. I wonder what I really did pay for those oranges! In Italy the currency problem is further complicated by the fact that most of the currency is paper, that gold is at a premium, and that the premium is liable to change every day, so that one can never tell what is the purchasing power of his ten-lire gold piece nor what his ten-lire Italian note will be worth to him if he has one left over when he is ready to

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leave Italy. There is a postal union; why not a currency union? America, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Greece—I am not sure as to Portugal and Turkey—have a decimal currency; it would require but very little modification in the weight and value of coinage to make them all conform to one standard. The Italian lira and the French franc are now substantially if not exactly equivalent. One would think that the German mark and the American quarter might be changed in weight and value from twenty-five to twenty cents, so as to be equivalent to the franc, and the Russian rouble from fifty-four cents to fifty—two francs and a half—or, better yet, to forty cents, that is, two francs; with these changes the gold coin of any country would soon circulate freely in any other country, and the silver coinage would go without difficulty in all border towns. I suppose there is no hope that conservative England will ever substitute a decimal currency for her cumbrous pounds, shillings, and pence. It is, by the way, a significant fact that American greenbacks are quite generally taken in the larger cities—at least so I am told—at their face value in gold. This was not so formerly. I suppose it is a result of our adoption in America of the gold standard.

The changes in time are almost as interesting and quite as perplexing as the changes in currency. Of course our steamer time changes every day; a sharp blast on the whistle notifies us when it is twelve o'clock, and certain of the passengers set their watches accordingly every day. I have too much respect for my faithful friend to meddle with him to this extent, and I keep my watch unchanged and make my calculations by a mental comparison of my watch with the ship's time. But when we are in port we generally have three times—ship's time, local time, and railroad time, to which I must in my own case add my own time, which is quite frequently neither. In fact, I kept New York time till we reached Genoa; since then I have kept central Europe railroad time. Without changing my watch, I am getting back to that standard again, and expect to find myself quite accurate when we land in Naples. But it is in Turkey that the time problem becomes really complicated, very irritating to him who takes it seriously, very funny to him who enjoys a joke. To begin with, there are four years in Turkey—a Mohammedan civil year, a Mohammedan religious year, a Greek or Eastern year, and a European or Western year. Then in the year there are both lunar months depending on the changes of the moon, and months which, like ours, are certain artificial proportions of the solar year. Then the varieties of language in Turkey still further complicate the calendars in customary use. I brought away with me a page from the diary which stood on my friend's library table, and which is customarily sold in the Turkish shops to serve the purpose of a calendar; and I got from my friend the meaning of the hieroglyphics, which I record here as well as I can remember them. This page represents one day. Numbering the compartments in it from left to right, it reads as follows:

1. March, 1318 (Civil Year).
2. March, 1320 (Religious Year).
3. Thirty-one days (Civil Year).
4. Wednesday.
5. Thirty days (Religious Year).
6. 27 (March: Civil Year).
7. (March: Religious Year).
8. March, Wednesday (Armenian).
9. April, Wednesday (French).
10. March, Wednesday (Greek).
11. Ecclesiastical day (French R. C. Church).
12. March, Wednesday (Russian).
13. Month Day (Hebrew).
14. Month Day (Old Style).
15. Month Day (New Style).
16. Ecclesiastical day (Armenian).
17. Ecclesiastical day (Greek).
18. Midday, 5:35, 1902; Midday, 5:21.

I am not quite clear in my mind now as to the meaning of the last section, but

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I think it is that noon according to European reckoning is eighteen minutes past five according to Turkish reckoning. For there is in Turkey, added to the complication of year, month, and day, a further complication as to hours. The Turks reckon, not from an artificial or conventional hour, but from sunrise, and their reckoning runs for twenty-four hours. Thus, when the sun rises at 6:30 our noon will be 5:30, Turkish time. The Turkish hours, therefore, change every day. The steamers on the Bosphorus run according to Turkish time, and one must first look in the time-table to see the hour and then calculate from sunrise of the day what time by his European clock the boat will start. My friends in Turkey had apparently gotten used to this complicated calendar, with its variable years and months and the constantly changing hours, and took it as a matter of course.

April 25.

My classical knowledge is like the ancient frescoes on remnants of walls Pompeian and others—very dim and very fragmentary. Among the few figures which possess some distinctness is that of Ulysses, and the clearness of his figure is due, not to any definite memory of college studies, but to recent reading and re-reading of Professor Palmer's translation of the Odyssey. When I found that we were to pass between Scylla and Charybdis at daylight this morning, I asked my steward to see that I was called. When I went on deck, the sun had not risen; the shore loomed dark and indistinct on either side in the gray light, and the lights of a town of considerable size shone through the disappearing darkness, witness that its guardians did not think daylight was yet sufficiently advanced to trust to it. There were perhaps half a dozen passengers on deck, and one or two appeared later; I was the only one of our party with sufficient classical enthusiasm to fulfill the purpose of the night before. Here, however, was the young woman doctor, graduate of the Pennsylvania Medical College, and here Miss ——, one of the best types, I thought, of English girls, and here, to my surprise, the kindly-hearted cynic who disdained to be interested in anything, and here the retired New York dry-goods merchant, who I had supposed was interested only in the markets, and here the Massachusetts judge, who at seventy had retired from the bench, but was young enough to be up before daylight to see the famous Straits of Messina. I see my half-dozen is an underestimate; there must have been twice as many. One realized that Homer made full use of his imagination in depicting the feats of Ulysses, but the whirlpool was very evident on the one side, and the rock on which the giant stood when he plucked the sailors out of the boat was plain enough on the other. I could well understand, when I saw how crooked was our channel, the statement made to me by a fellow-passenger, that even now sailing vessels avoid the straits when the winds are uncertain, and the fact that our own steamer lay still an hour or so in the night to avoid passing the straits before daylight.

The day opened dark and lowering, with occasional dashes of rain, and we gave ourselves up to the disappointment of approaching Naples in a rain-storm. But after luncheon the clouds broke away, the sun came out, and at two o'clock we found ourselves approaching what is perhaps the most beautiful bay in all this beautiful world, in weather as peaceful as even Italy can give when Italy does her very best. For three hours or thereabouts we were in groups on the forward part of the deck, glasses in hand, looking, enjoying, those to whom all was new getting information and sometimes misinformation from those to whom all was measurably familiar, till our eyes ached and our heads swam. The long, bold, mountainous promontory; the famous Amalfi Road, plainly to be seen along the cliff even without the glasses; the villages scattered along the water's edge or climbing up steep declivities well toward the top; the island of Capri rising, precipitous, out of the sea; Sorrento charmingly situated on the green slope of the hill, but well above the sea, and saying to us as eloquently as golden silence can speak, Come over here and rest; Vesuvius, the smoke rising straight up into the clear evening air from her chimneyed summit; Naples in the ever-lessening distance; above us a blue sky, beneath and all about us a blue sea—in the presence of such a scene of beauty as this, all that painting, sculpture, and architecture can do to delight the

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eye or inspire the heart seems small and tame. If I could have followed my inclination, I would have taken train next morning for Sorrento, found quarters there overlooking the sea, and spent a week wandering over the hills or sitting at the window and simply looking at the scene of beauty.

May 5.

Naples is built upon a segment of a great amphitheater. The stage is the blue sea; the scenery is Vesuvius and her companion mountains, with Sorrento at their feet at one side, the promontory of rocks jutting out into the sea on the other side, the island of Capri in the center and rear of the stage; the commercial part of the town occupies the floor or pit of the amphitheater, the residences, shops, and public buildings occupy the tiers of seats which rise in a somewhat precipitous slope from the floor; the Castle of St. Elmo and the Convent of San Martino are at the top, occupying the center of the "gallery of the gods." Our hotel was half-way up the slope; we occupied front rooms; it was an ideal resting-place: to sit here in our window, or stand in our balcony and simply look down on the city below us or off at the stage and the scenery perpetually changing in the ever-changing light, was employment enough for a party somewhat wearied with six weeks of travel and of constant change. One night—the night before we left—Vesuvius lighted her torch for our benefit. What else did we do? Not much. Naples is very interesting, but there is not much of interest in Naples: cathedrals, palaces, picture galleries, museums, are conspicuously absent. There is one museum which contains by far the best collection of Pompeian remains—frescoes, inscriptions, coins, curios—and a few fine pieces of sculpture, notably the Farnese Hercules and the Farnese Bull—perhaps more than a few; but only a few impressed themselves on me in my short visit and rapid view. There is an Aquarium, I believe the finest in the world. It is sustained by international contributions; the United States shares with other nations in supporting it. I believe it contains only extraordinary specimens of sea life; certainly it contains some that are extraordinary. Among them I recall the wonderfully beautiful collection of coral and coraline forms; the curious fish that plays hide-and-seek, burying itself in the sand and using its flippers to cover itself over and conceal itself from view; the robber crabs carrying the castles of the tenants whom they have driven out, and other crabs in partnership with sea-anemones, which they carry on their back, the two hunting in couples; the winged fish whose fins look like wings and seem to play a similar part in the water to that played by the wings of a bird in the air; the enchanting devil-fish or octopus, who uses all his half-score or so of arms with a supple grace which suggests long practice under a Delsarte teacher, and who, when he looses his tentacles from the rock and swims straight toward me, as though he were about to enfold me with a dozen arms, as the serpents their victims in the Laocoön, gives me the most delightfully creepy sensation. There is the Corso by the bay, and the band, and the crowd of carriages, and the soldiers in uniform, and the nurses in far more gorgeous uniform, and the babies looking at me out of a cloud of fluffy material indescribable by masculine pen. There is old Naples, with its narrow streets, its unventilated shops, its people cooking, knitting, eating, washing, drying their clothes, in short, conducting all the operations of life, in the street, much as they used to in Pompeii eighteen or nineteen centuries ago; there are the unbitted horses, whose curious headstalls are simply fastened about the nose and who are guided and controlled as by a halter instead of a bit; there are the donkeys, gayly caparisoned, and dragging after them carts swarming with a family party—the Italian peasant's quiver is full of arrows; there are the cows driven through the streets by the Neapolitan milkmen to be milked at the door of the tenement, and the herds of goats driven up three or four flights of stairs to be milked at the doors of the rooms, a guarantee against dilution and adulteration: two or three times I have seen a woman from an upper story letting down a mug or pitcher to be filled from the udder of the cow which was standing in the street below; there is a drive on the top of the hill which half environs Naples, a hill hardly wide enough, at points, for the road, with a beautiful panorama of mountain, valley, bay, sea, and island on either side of us; there are winding streets composed

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of stairs up ascents too steep for a carriage roadway—I counted three hundred steps one day in climbing up to the convent which is perched on the hill above us; there are donkeys saddled and waiting at the foot to take up the passenger who wishes to ride; there is Pompeii, which surprised me chiefly because everything seems on such a diminutive scale—streets, squares, temples, forum, as though they belonged to a play city for children; and, not least of all, there is always the view from our hotel window of the bay, with Vesuvius and Capri in the background, a view not less beautiful because continually changing with the changes of weather in a very fickle season.

Of all the cities I have yet been in, Naples is the best in which to rest. Its life is the antipodes of strenuous. It seems like a city at play. The people are not idle; they are industrious; but their industry is like that of the swallows whose play is work and whose work is play. With their unstrenuous spirit and their picturesque costumes goes, naturally enough, an accompaniment of perpetual music. Two boat-loads of singers met our steamer as we came into the bay and sang Italian airs—opera and other—and extemporized a contribution-box by holding an umbrella upside down to catch the coppers thrown to them from the deck. From that day to our leaving, the hours have been filled with music. A street band plays or a street impresario sings before our hotel every evening, and generally there is another—or is it the same?—in the afternoon. There is a band of Italian musicians—young men with guitars, violins, and voices—who come after dinner into the hall of our hotel, where we take our coffee, and who interest us no less by their operatic costumes and their child-like gestures than by their music, which is very good. The motto of the hotel, painted in large letters above the door of this hall, interprets the spirit of Naples: *Sit nox cum sono, sit sine lite dies* (Let the night be with song; let the day be without strife). This music of Naples is not merely professional. The children go singing to their schools; the sound of song mingles in the crowded lanes of old Naples with the ceaseless rumble and hum of the great city; the first sound we hear in the morning is a duet, or trio, or chorus of workingmen going to their work and singing as they go; the soldiers, as they march by, sing, and keep step to their singing; the very street cries of the peddlers are all musical—a song, a chant, an intonation. This universal song fits in with an air of *bonhomie*, of kindly feeling, of good-fellowship, of sweet contentment, of serene and placid happiness, which seems to pervade the city. All the service at hotel and restaurant and shop has an air of uncommercial spontaneity. The cab-driver easily becomes one's friend if one will but let him be so, and plucks for us some of the flowers by the wayside, which are as abundant as the music. One readily falls into the spirit, and gives the *pourboire*, not as an added price exacted, but as a sign of good fellowship. One of our party is a trifle ill; the terrible tragedy of a year ago at Naples makes us perhaps over-anxious; the extra service needed is smilingly rendered; and the English doctor whom we summon becomes at once our friend as well as our physician—he is presently going to England to the Coronation, and cordially invites us to call on him there and renew the acquaintance.

So passes the time, until the two or three days I had allotted to Naples have grown to ten, and even now I regret to leave. Its quaint customs and costumes, its artistic shops, its great arcade, to my thinking more imposing than the perhaps more famous one at Milan, its wonderfully beautiful scenic setting, the excellence of its hotel, the dramatic interest of its life, the naïve unreserve of its people, its physical climate, its social atmosphere, its happy-go-lucky spirit, and, above all, its general quality of good comradeship, make the memory of Naples a most attractive one. I forget the brief anxiety; I recall only the enforced rest. I remember that we took our sightseeing very easily; I forget the reason that compelled us to do so. Happy forgetting! It is Monday, May 5th; we have given good-by to the hotel; our baggage has been weighed and paid for and ticketed, and we are in an American Pullman sleeper, a section of which I have secured, and are started for Rome.

L. A.

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A Glimpse at Venezuelan Politics

By James Barnes

Special Correspondent of The Outlook in Venezuela

PEOPLE, as a rule, are not given to talking politics here in Venezuela. It is certainly not fashionable of late, and under some circumstances it is scarcely safe. It did not take me long to ascertain this evident fact, for I found it hard to excite the slightest interest in the subject, although on many occasions I attempted to question people. But at last it was my pleasure to meet a Caracas merchant—a man, educator, and traveler—who, despite his pessimism, had all a Venezuelan's pride and affection for his country, and, strange to say, was not averse to talking.

I congratulated myself that I had brought up the subject with no little diplomacy and finesse. I had remarked upon the lack of concern in political questions among important people who held no government position, and expected him to agree with me that this was a sad mistake. I ended with a somewhat trite quotation from a well-known writer on American politics, which was in substance this: "Whenever we see iniquity in our American public life, and whenever scandal smirches the fair name of our institutions, the cause has been always the acquiescence in the mischief that comes from a citizenship which will not stir itself to assist in the government."

I thought this would stir him up—and it did, in an unexpected manner.

A LAUGHING SKELETON

What Venezuelans think of Venezuela's political state is shown by this cartoon published in "La Prensa" of Caracas, with the following explanation: "Venezuela is a corpse—and is laughing. She is suffering and is a skeleton—but she has spirit and lives. Like the phœnix, she rises from her ashes; in this her force lies. Vainly do men try to humble her; she meets every emergency with sparkling vigor. Dying, she sings and dances. Her spirit will be her salvation."

"No," he replied; "you will pardon me, but you have not got the idea. It is impossible to judge from the outside in my country. You cannot stay here three weeks and go away and explain why things are so and so. Already you suggest remedies. It is what you Americans always do. I tell you, your political remedies are no good in my country."

"Have you given them a trial?" I asked.

"It is impossible; they cannot be tried," he replied. "Stay here longer, you will believe me. Then you may hear some people talk who now will say nothing."

"I may be here some time longer," I replied. "You forget the blockade."

"Oh, yes, this foolish blockade, we forget it. How soon we get used to things!"

"But don't lose sight of our subject," I persisted. "Don't you think something can be done?"

"Quien sabe? tomorrow, perhaps, next month, next year, something will happen. Now we can do nothing."

It was rather pathetic. In fact, the keynote of affairs, politically speaking, in Venezuela is one of pathos, and yet the sympathy that may be enlisted is mingled, perforce, with a flavoring bordering on disgust, if not of a certain contempt.

The acceptance of the hopelessness of an omnipresent situation without an effort, an organized effort, to relieve it perma-

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nently, revolts the average foreigner's mind. It is like seeing a man with plenty of water and brooms ready to hand, who will not clean his stable yard, or his front doorsteps, for that matter, apparently for the simple season that they soon will get dirty again. So he prefers to sit idle and watch a horde of mangy scavenger dogs—as he watches those canine pariahs that swarm the Caracas streets—and flocks of ill-omened birds, like those that ceaselessly circle the sky above the ill-smelling city—he prefers complacently to watch them live off his self-permitted disorder.

If the dogs should change to wolves and the vultures to birds of prey, one is led to believe, he would accept them both as part of the situation, and acquiesce in the resultant robbery as he acquiesced in the primary dirt. Should they grow strong enough to threaten, he might rob his family to appease their possible fury.

Now, to most casual observers the remedy is obvious: a cleaning up is necessary, to begin with. There is plenty of water and brooms. A fair proportion of the people are tired of the dirt and disorder; many would work manfully in the process, perhaps, if some one would start the fashion. The whole country is tired of the national curses—revolution and political corruption, political corruption and revolution; their struggles and exactions are sapping the dwindling strength of the nation.

Having formed these astute opinions in the course of the three weeks or more so slightingly referred to by my friend the merchant, I ventured to put them into the somewhat mixed metaphor above recorded. He seemed to understand it. He even acknowledged, to a certain extent, the justness of a few of the implications. When I came to the broom proposition, he demurred.

"You will have to use guns first," he stated, firmly.

"All right," I replied, "granted. Use all the guns you want."

"They would be very hard to get into the country," he replied, taking the question literally for a moment (for all I know, he spoke from personal experience). "And then," he went on, going back to the metaphor again, "you must know that a good many dogs or hyenas or wolves, or whatever you want to call them, might belong to respectable families; they have run so long with the others that you can hardly tell them apart; their families let them come into their houses at night. If you should shoot one of these"—he shrugged his shoulders—"well, the family might shoot at you, and then you would shoot at the family, and then"—he gave up in despair. "Just another revolution, that is all, no matter what good you want to bring about. And the wolves would get all the best places, trust them for that! And if they did not, they would start another revolution—that is the way they live."

"Their only visible means of support, eh?" I suggested.

"Exactly—the politicians. Some one has to feed them, or they will take what they can get—I mean they will take what they can take. When they lose this power or capacity, the change is sudden. I can show you three ex-generals sitting in rags in the Plaza Bolivar, one an ex-Minister. But," he added, "they have no right to complain; they have had their day."

"But couldn't all the people who have the liberty and welfare of the country at heart unite and go to the polls?"

"Unite! Go to the polls—the voting-places!—stay a little longer, Señor. Unite! and fight or go to prison! Some one would kindly give the government a list, and I can tell you the prisons would be crowded. Property would be confiscated. I do not care to lose my property or be separated from my family. The polls, you say. A few years ago we went to vote for a good man—at every place a crowd of strangers! Countrymen with arms and machetes—they belonged to the government. I went back home—played chess all day with my uncle."

"But wasn't there a revolution that time?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, there was a revolution all the time, but it was not ours. It soon followed, was defeated, and our candidate went to prison."

"But this state of affairs cannot continue," I exclaimed. "Are there not some honest patriots in the field, some people who would serve their country honestly?"

"Oh, yes, I dare to say in both the rank and the file. But they are not the most, and they would get all the poor places in the division—perhaps they would get nothing."

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"But supposing a real patriot was at the head of a revolution?"

"If he succeeded, he would have to provide places for his friends who helped him—he would have pledges to redeem. But they all talk the same. See here, Señor, here is the latest bulletin from the Revolution, sent from Curaçoa. They have been sent to all prominent people; it is no crime to get one, but you must not boast of it! See! it quotes from a New York paper, to begin with, an article against the present Government. Now read this, or listen:

"'To all true Venezuelans!'"

It was an appeal couched in language that is generally known as "highfalutin." It called upon all who loved liberty, freedom, justice, and all the various virtues of good citizenship, to unite and drive the usurping dictator (the present President) and his crowd of corrupt hirelings (the Government officials) from power. It conjured all who valued the ties of hearth and home to gather under the standard of General Manuel A. Matos and prove themselves "true Venezuelans and patriots" by—well, to be short, by killing every one who did not share the same political allegiance.

"It sounds very fine," said I.

"It sounds," rejoined the merchant, "like all the rest. Now here is the speech of the President—this little gamecock of ours. I will read a translation. It is fine too. He made it after the battle at La Victoria a few weeks ago. So listen again to a translation as literal as it can be made.

"'Chiefs, officers, and soldiers! My words to you are not and cannot be merely congratulatory for the triumphs obtained; these are so brilliant, so consequent with the historical bravery of our people and the ardent aspirations of our patriotism at the present moment, that I hold it a sacred obligation of my conscience to offer the deep and sincere homage of admiration and gratitude to the greatness of your heroism! Yes, I respectfully bow before the distinguished defenders of the right and honor of the Republic. . . . Yesterday's rout was decisive. The principal group of that revolt, which was immoral, criminal, and worthy of condemnation, before God and our country, fled in terror before the points of our bayonets and eaten to the root by the red viper of anarchy. . . . Blood has flowed in impetuous currents—Venezuelan blood, always so generous on the altar of sacrifice! The two great semicircles of the lines of battle are marked by the sad and unheard-of number of badly dug graves and unburied remains, a sort of dolorous path that we hope will lead us in the road from to-day, not indeed to Calvary without Tabor, as those who are responsible for this way have desired, but to the resplendent Tabor, to the highest summit of our national illimitable perfection!'"

The merchant paused; I could say nothing. Yes, I thought; and there lie the unburied bodies now, torn apart by dogs and vultures. For days the badly wounded wandered in the dense bushes and deserted fields, uncared for and unsought, until death came and found them. As the victors danced and sang at the town of La Victoria, the groans of these poor fellows welled up from the hills and hollows a mile or two away.

I told him I had seen part of the battlefield and possessed some photographs of the horrible results of the really desperate fighting.

"But let us read a little more," said the merchant. "We skip a little and come to this:

"'Let our hearts be filled with the memory of our fallen comrades and the hour approaching of sad rejoicing for their widows and orphans; let us correspond with their self-denial and martyrdom with offerings of painful and affectionate gratitude.'

"You smile," said the merchant, "but here is the peroration:

"Thus united [by all that has gone before] in the ample bosom of national confraternity, the work will sprout and bloom, and the manifestations of our culture will shine eternally with its own light in Time and History.

"La Victoria, November 3, 1902.

"CIPRIANO CASTRO.

"Hoop la!" said the merchant, with amusing sarcasm. In all truth it was pathetic, and yet it could not be otherwise; it was amusing, but I abstained from comment, for it was needless.

"But, judging from my own short period of observation," I said at last, "the country seems ripe for a change of some sort."

"They are always *ready* for it," was the

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reply; "they expect it even if it does not come. Let us see—since '98 we have had, first and last, great and small, eight revolutions. But the present one is not well led, nor is it popular. I speak, of course, from my personal standpoint and opinion. Many people fear that the old Guzman Blanco régime would return to power and that there would, besides, be a great fostering of German influence. We have had enough of the Blanco crowd—they have long been waiting their opportunity."

"But if Matos should succeed?"

"Then Castro would have to flee; an ex-President is a political refugee, but always wealthy, never less than three or four millions. But it would be the same thing over again—I suppose we would decorate our houses, some surely would, and all the soldiers left behind would turn out as a guard of honor and welcome the revolution."

"But tell me," I persisted, "is there no party that stands for peace and honest government? Is there no man the people trust who might lead them?"

"Yes," said the merchant, slowly. "There is such a party and there is such a man; he has behind him two-thirds of all the people. The *puello* [common people] love him. General José Manuel Hernández, the leader, the god I might say, of the Nationalists. He is the man I would have voted for."

"The day you played chess?" I suggested.

"Yes; but what chance had we then? What chance have we now? We have no arms, little money. Our leader is a man of peace now; all he wants to see is peace and to see Venezuela pulled out of all this mud abroad and trouble at home. We have little hope."

"But you could raise money, and money will—"

"Get arms! Ah, you see now you talk like a Venezuelan yourself. It would be risky; they put irons on you in prison, my friend! It would be a big revolution, though; but, you see, it is the same thing over again."

"But you believe that one honest election under the Constitution would solve matters?" I suggested.

"Ah!" The merchant's exclamation and the gesture conveyed much meaning. "How will we get it? Will your Government lend us ten thousand troops for three months, sometime? It would mean six years of peace—perhaps always peace. There, now, is a practical remedy."

"No," I replied, "I am afraid my Government would not."

"Well, what are we to do?"

I confessed I could not tell, but I expressed a feeble hope that something might happen that might lead to better things. It was the least I could do.

"Quien sabe?" replied the merchant, and the subject changed, as subjects will when the limit of suggestion and explanation has been reached and no argument is needed on one side or another.

That is just the trouble. The political situation in Venezuela is an impossible one. Immediately you come to facts you meet several well-nigh insurmountable obstacles in the way of hopeful reasoning. The people have become used to it, and have surrendered to what they consider the inevitable. Placidly they submit, at times, to conditions and to impositions that no other people on the face of the earth, no king-ridden, Czar-governed people, would submit to for an instant, without rising for the right. They have accepted it for years, and yet in no land has the cry "To arms!" so often sounded, and nowhere has the catchword "liberty" been worn so threadbare. What, then, are the obstacles?

First, unquestionably, is the race, with its inheritance of national traits—the mixed blood, the religion such as it exists, and the lack of real religious belief which unquestionably is lacking, the division of the people into castes, the entire lack of national republican ideas, the dearth of education among the masses, and their intense conservatism.

Secondly, the existence of the professional semi-military politician—one day a guerrilla chief, the next a minister of affairs; a president or a dictator one moment, a political refugee the next. The rules that govern the reigning class are simple. There is an ingrained, popular, and accepted belief that a public office is a private opportunity, the political maxims being: To the victor belong the spoils; Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.

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Thirdly, the apathy, the almost cowardly apathy, of the best class of the people, who apparently have no political affiliations, and who submit to the grinding of the millstones with the resignation of a proud despair. Micawber-like, they are continually waiting for better times. They would accept almost anything. The prospect of a foreign invasion that failed to unite two warring political factions struggling for the mastery of the government control, *i. e.*, the budget and the emoluments of office, fails, with good reason, to excite in them any expression of patriotism. Many believe, and in all truth and justice they are right—deny it who may—that foreign control would be better for the country than the present state of things. Peace, continued peace, is what this blood-soaked, unhappy, long-robbed land is needing.

Fourthly, the rotten state of the courts of law, the judiciary who are but tools of the party that may be in power, and the press that must voice its sentiments or shut up shop, with the government seal on its doors and the editors in prison. There is no *habeas corpus*. A man may be thrown into confinement and his family given no explanation and hardly a chance to communicate with him by line or word.

These, then, are a few of the obstacles. Let us look at the present, the actual situation.

Here is a great country, a magnificently great country, with every possibility of wealth, health, and happiness, with a population less by many thousands than it had twenty years ago, utterly bankrupt, ruined, blockaded. No bread or flour in the city of Caracas, and yet the band plays in the plaza, the multi-colored population hang lazily about the corners. The Government levies forced loans to support its luxuries. It squeezes the last drop from the almost dry lemon of internal trade. The situation is well expressed in the cartoon in to-day's "La Prensa"—*Diario de la mañana*—"Venezuela is a corpse that laughs."

Caracas, Venezuela.

The Growth of Reciprocity Sentiment

By John Charlton, M.P.

MANY circumstances seem to warrant the belief that public sentiment in the United States is rapidly assuming a more liberal attitude towards the question of reciprocity with Canada. Reliable information as to the trade conditions existing between the two countries is being widely disseminated, and is producing such modification of views upon the reciprocity question as accurate information is calculated to develop. No respectable authority upon economic questions has ventured to assert that the conditions that for one hundred and twenty years have made free trade between all the States of the American Union a blessing to all concerned, do not apply to the question of trade between the United States and the Canadian Provinces; and we are yet to be shown why the area of free trade between kindred States inhabited by the same race, and with practically the same institutions, should not be extended.

The National Reciprocity Convention which met at Detroit December 10, 1902, was a notable gathering. Its resolution asking Congress to move in the direction of reconvening the Joint High Commission for the purpose of treating with Canada in the matter of trade arrangements, on the basis of reciprocity in natural products, reached the root of trade difficulties between the two countries. A little more than a month later substantially the same position was taken by the National Board of Trade at Washington, and concurrence in these views has been expressed by various branch Reciprocity Leagues, and by commercial organizations in various parts of the United States.

It is beginning to be realized by public men in the United States who are giving the question their attention that Canadian trade matters have reached a stage that renders delay in action inadvisable. Thirty-six years ago a treaty that was rapidly attaching Canada to the United States by the ties of mutual interest, and of dependence for market and outlets to markets, was abrogated, and Canadian efforts to secure renewal of the treaty,

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with an enlarged free list that would have increased Canadian dependence and American ascendency, were denied. Eight years later Canadian persistence in the desire to get under the wing of the American eagle led to the negotiating of the Brown Draft Treaty of 1874, so called, which provided for reciprocity in natural products and the free admission of an extensive list of American manufactures, and which also provided for the construction of a canal from the St. Lawrence River, a few miles above Montreal, to Lake Champlain, of the same depth as the Welland Ship Canal, so that Canada might have increased facilities for reaching New York, then supposed to be her most desirable seaport. This treaty was refused ratification by the United States Senate. The animus of the Senate may have been hostility, it may have been the expectation that Canada would be forced to seek admission into the American Union, it may have been the mistaken belief that American interests would be promoted by a policy of repression. Whatever was the impelling motive, the practical outcome of the action certainly could not have been foreseen. No longer does Canada feel a sense of dependence upon American markets. New conditions have arisen. Unexpected results have been developed. Canada has overcome commercial difficulties that seemed insurmountable, has developed a vast trade in new lines, and now every nerve in the national organism tingles with a new-born sense of attainable independence, of difficulties overcome, and of commercial achievements and conquests realized. In this connection a statement showing the unexpected changes in the movements of Canadian farm products will be instructive.

CANADIAN EXPORTS OF FARM PRODUCTS

To the United States.	
1866	$25,041,000
1902	7,027,000
To Great Britain.	
1866	$3,544,000
1902	79,545,000

This most remarkable reversal of trade conditions as relates to farm products, amounting to over twenty-two-fold increase in the exports to Great Britain, and a diminution of over two-thirds in the exports to the United States, marks a change in conditions the effect of which upon Canadian interests and sentiments should not be passed over lightly. It proves conclusively that the Canadian farmer is no longer dependent upon the American market. He has entered the lists and become a keen competitor of the American farmer in foreign markets. A careful study of the tastes of his English customer has enabled him to distance the American farmer in various lines, and especially in cheese and bacon, while there looms up before his expectant gaze the rapid development of the great wheat belt of the Canadian Northwest, and the near approach of the command of the markets of the world for that cereal. He is not now a suppliant for free entry into a market the value of which is only a matter of history to him, and is content to push the trade with the mother land in the development of which he has secured such satisfactory results. Secure for him the coveted boon of preference for colonial food products in the home market, and he will be content to see his export of farm products to the United States sink from $7,000,000 to nothing.

For some years past the importation of farm products from the United States to Canada for consumption has greatly exceeded the export of farm products to the United States for the same purpose. Canada admits hides and skins, wool, broom corn, hemp undressed, Indian corn, flaxseed, tobacco leaf, and many minor articles free of duty. In 1902 the importation of farm products from the United States for consumption was $15,487,000. In 1901 it was $20,750,000. The largest item in the list of importation was corn, and the falling off in 1902 as compared with the previous year was chiefly due to the short corn crop of 1901 and resultant high range of prices. With the importation of two or three times as much farm products for consumption from the United States as the export of Canadian farm products to that country, under practically the same duties in each country, except in the case of the above enumerated articles upon the free list, it is probable that with free trade in natural products the import of farm products by Canada from the United States for consumption would nearly equal the export of Canada to the United States in the same line for consumption. In wheat, flour, and other articles of which both

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countries have a surplus for export the movement to the United States would be heavy, provided that country could secure the carrying trade and the handling of these products as a middleman; but the more extensive the importation of such products, the more extensive would be the volume of American export trade, the greater the earnings of American transportation routes, the larger the profits of American factors and middlemen, and all without effect upon the prices of these articles in the American market.

TOTAL VALUE OF EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Great Britain, 1866	$16,826,000
Great Britain, 1902	117,320,000
United States, 1866, including estimated short returns	$44,143,000
United States, 1902, produce of Canada	66,567,000

Of the exports to the United States the lately revised tables show that $23,378,000 consisted of coin, bullion, gold dust, nuggets, and silver concentrates, leaving the exports aside from precious metals $43,189,000, which is nearly $1,000,000 less than in 1866.

TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Great Britain, 1866	$40,062,000
Great Britain, 1902	49,206,000
United States, 1866	$28,572,000
United States, 1902	120,814,000

These returns show an increase of importations from Great Britain of but 23 per cent. since 1866, while the increase of importations from the United States is 422 per cent., or ten times greater, in the same period. Canada therefore finds herself confronted by the following conditions. Free access to the British markets and energetic development of trade on her own part have raised her exports to Great Britain from $16,826,000 in 1866 to $117,320,000 in 1902, while her imports from that country during the same period, notwithstanding the operation of preferential duties for four years of that time, have only carried up her imports from $40,062,000 in 1866 to $49,206,000 in 1902, leaving a balance of trade against Great Britain and in her favor in 1902 of $68,114,000; or, in other words, Canada last year sold to Great Britain nearly two and a half times more than the amount of her purchases from that country. In the case of the United States, eliminating precious metals from the volume of her exports to that country, her sales were $43,189,000, her purchases for consumption $120,814,000, or two and a half times more than her exports, and the actual balance of trade against her, not including precious metals exported, was, as per revised figures of trade returns, $77,625,000.

The amount of free and dutiable imports for the same years were as follows:

IMPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN, 1902

Free goods	$14,143,000
Dutiable goods	$35,069,000
Rate of duty on total imports	17.06
Rate of duty on dutiable imports	24.05

IMPORTS FROM UNITED STATES, 1902

Free goods	$60,632,000
Dutiable goods	$60,181,000
Rate of duty on total imports	12.54
Rate of duty on dutiable imports	25.18

The condition of trade relations between the two countries as thus set forth is one that the United States could well afford to allow to remain intact. It excites surprise, however, that Canada should have allowed these conditions to continue in operation so long, and at last a change is imminent, a change the character of which the United States will be permitted largely to decide. Either her own policy towards Canada will be made more liberal, and the Canadian will be permitted to exchange his own products for his enormous purchases in the United States, or the policy of Canada will be remodeled upon the present American lines, and liberal purchases from a foreign country will be treated as dangerous to domestic interests, and will be carefully minimized by repressive legislation.

The value of Canadian trade to the United States may be illustrated by a comparison with the trade of the United States with Latin America. Last year the excess of Canadian imports from the United States for consumption, over the exports of the United States to all of Latin America from the northern boundary of Mexico to Cape Horn, was $36,800,000, and over all of Latin America, including the West India Islands except Cuba and Porto Rico, was $19,796,000.

Canada is the largest customer for manufactures that the United States possesses. A table giving the imports from the United States for the last five years

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will show the extent and the rapid growth of this branch of Canadian import trade:

CANADIAN IMPORTATION OF MANUFACTURES FROM THE UNITED STATES

1898	$41,510,000
1899	49,362,000
1900	60,473,000
1901	62,463,000
1902	69,536,000

In 1902 the Canadian import of manufactures from Great Britain was $41,675,000; excess from the United States, $27,861,000. Of the import of manufactures from the United States in 1902, $21,195,000 was on the free list, which included binder twine, fishing nets and twines, brass, copper, steel rails, mining machinery, steel and iron in various forms to the extent of over $3,000,000, tin, barbed wire, etc.

The need for a revision of the trade policy of the United States towards Canada must be apparent to any disinterested and candid man who will carefully weigh the facts. At last the great obstacle to the continuance and completion of the work of the Joint High Commission has been removed through the reference of the Alaskan boundary question to another tribunal. Provided this treaty is ratified, the way is now open for the Commission to resume its labors. Is it worth while for it to reassemble? Better, without doubt, not to do so than to have another fiasco. Considerable progress was made by the Commission with the trade question at its Washington session in 1899. Matters have to some extent changed since then. Concessions that were then offered by the American Government were at that time considered insufficient, and would clearly fall short of what would be found necessary now. With the great market for food in British Columbia and the Yukon region, which can be most readily furnished from Washington and Oregon; with the greater market for food in the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, for which supplies will naturally come from the seaboard cities of the United States; with the market for grain and meats which will be furnished by the lumbering and mining regions of Ontario and Quebec; with a free list of $60,632,000 of imports from the United States—more than ten times greater than the American free list of Canadian imports, and $21,000,000 of which is manufactures—and with a present importation of American farm products for consumption more than double the export of Canadian farm products to the United States, the present Canadian tariff, the rates under which are about half the rates imposed by the American tariff, and the present trade conditions, would seem to warrant the request for free trade in natural products, provided the British preference, so far as it affects the United States, was repealed.

The manufacturing interests of the United States are becoming fully alive to the importance of the Canadian market, and are nearly ready for a reciprocity treaty with fair and equitable conditions. The American farmer and lumberman, however, are troubled with fears that free natural products will depress prices in the United States. Canada desires free trade in lumber and farm products, not for the purpose of breaking prices in the United States markets, but for the purpose of securing higher prices in Canada through the addition of the duty to the price now received. The export to the United States of lumber and farm products for consumption bears an insignificant proportion to the amount of each produced in the United States for consumption. In lumber the importation does not amount to two per cent. of the total American production. The same conditions hold good in relation to farm products of the kind that both countries do not raise a surplus of for export; and with regard to products of which each country has a surplus, American and Canadian producers meet as competitors in foreign markets. One statement with regard to the egg trade will illustrate the groundlessness of American apprehension about reduction in prices of farm products resulting from free trade. Eggs at one time were free, and were one of the most important in value of the list of exports from Canada to the United States. A duty of five cents per dozen has practically excluded them from the American market for many years, and the Canadian producer has found a market for this article in Great Britain which is said to be as satisfactory as was the market formerly furnished by the United States. Last year the export of eggs from Canada was, to Great Britain, 11,397,000 dozen; to the United States, 237,000 dozen—a

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total of 140,608,000 eggs, or less than two eggs annually for each inhabitant of the United States. With free trade in eggs the export to the United States, it is evident from the above statement, would bear so small a proportion to the production in that country for consumption that no appreciable effect upon prices could be produced; and the same thing would hold true, practically, with regard to the prices of all farm products imported into the United States from Canada for consumption.

Of late years a marked change has come over public sentiment in Canada regarding reciprocity with the United States, and the feeling of indifference which exists is increasing. The knowledge, as yet only partial, of the great resources of Canada and the boundless possibilities of the great Canadian Northwest has aroused aspirations for national development. The policy of fostering Canadian industries and interests is appealing more strongly day by day to the sympathies of the Canadian people, and the idea of a high protection tariff and the inauguration of a distinctively Canadian system is growing in favor, and will sweep the country at the next general elections if not headed off by a successful reciprocity movement. This feeling is closely allied to the Imperialistic sentiment which aspires to some form of organic union between Britain and her colonies, and indulges in day-dreams of Imperial trade preference for the colonies, or an Imperial Zollverein, coupled with a system of Imperial defense, in the cost of which the colonies are to bear a considerable share. All of these phases of Imperialism and extreme protection are the legitimate offspring of the selfishness of the American trade policy towards Canada, and will gradually disappear when a radical change of that policy takes place.

The Canadian economic and political forces opposed to reciprocity are, the manufactering interests, which have attained considerable development and stand resolutely for high protective duties against the United States and all other countries; the Imperialistic sentiment, which sees in reciprocity a deadly foe to its scheme for a united Empire and the destruction of colonial autonomy; the preferential trade policy, which looks for the enlargement of our British export trade through the application of preferential duties in favor of the colonies, and all the scattered elements, Tory in instinct and anti-republican in conviction, which look upon the expansion of the power of the great Republic as a menace to the divine right of kings and all the safeguards of conservative stability. In addition to these, the transportation interests centering in the St. Lawrence route look upon reciprocity with suspicion, if not with hostility, fearing that more liberal trade arrangements will tend, through the removal of custom restrictions, to draw trade to American canals and railways and to American seaports. Against these forces and influences we may set the lumberman, the mine-worker, and the fisherman, all of whom ardently desire reciprocity, and the farmer, whose views range from active desire down to passive realization that two markets must be better than one.

In Canada it is objected to reciprocity that it will lead to annexation to the United States. This objection would prove an argument in favor of the policy in the United States. Reciprocity thirty years ago would have been a working force in the direction of political union of the most powerful character. Since then conditions have materially changed, and it is useless to speculate as to whether increased intimacy in trade relations and the establishment of great mutual interests would have a commanding influence upon political relations. It may, however, be affirmed without the slightest hesitation that the continuance of the present trade relations between the two countries will have a powerful and ever-increasing tendency to render political union impossible.

The time to attend to the reciprocity issue is now. The Liberal Government now in power at Ottawa is favorable to the consummation of a reasonable treaty, and has the support in the Canadian House of Commons and Senate to secure its ratification. At the general election two or three years hence this Government may be succeeded by a Conservative, high protection government, and the failure to secure a reciprocity treaty before that time will go very far to secure the change. If this change should take place, all hope of securing a reciprocity treaty will be

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gone. The opportunity will have departed, and the evils of a tariff war will be intensified through the adoption by Canada of a policy as distinctly wide of good sense and recognition of true economic principles as the one with which the United States in her dealings with Canada has for the last thirty years invited the scorn of future generations of economists.

John Redmond[1]

By Justin McCarthy

Author of "A History of Our Own Times," "The Story of Gladstone's Life," etc.

JOHN EDWARD REDMOND is one of the leading men in the House of Commons just now. He is one of the very few really eloquent speakers of whom the House can boast at the present time. His eloquence is, indeed, of a kind but rarely heard in either House of Parliament during recent years. The ordinary style of debate in the House of Commons is becoming more and more of the merely conversational order, and even when the speaker is very much in earnest, even when he is carried away by the fervor of debate, his emotion is apt to express itself rather in an elevation of the voice than in an exaltation of the style. Among members of the House who may be still regarded as having a career before them I do not think there are more than three or four who are capable of making a really eloquent speech—a speech which is worth hearing for its style and its language as well as for its information and its argument. John Redmond is one of these gifted few; Lloyd-George is another. I have heard some critics depreciate John Redmond's eloquence on the ground that it is rather old-fashioned. If it be old-fashioned to express one's meaning in polished and well-balanced sentences, in brilliant phrasing, and with melodious utterance, then I have to admit that John Redmond is not, in his style of eloquence, quite up to the present fashion, and I can only say that it is so much the worse for the present fashion. It is quite certain that Redmond is accepted by the House of Commons in general as one of its most eloquent speakers and one of its ablest party leaders.

Redmond has already been some twenty years in the House of Commons. He was a very young man when first chosen to represent an Irish constituency in the House. I have noticed that our biographical dictionaries of contemporary life do not agree as to the date of Redmond's birth. Some of the books set him down as born in 1851, while others give the year of his birth as 1856. I think I have good reason for knowing that the latter date is the correct one. Perhaps it ought to bring a sense of gratification to a public man when a dispute arises as to the date of his birth. It may give him a complacent reminder of the fact that certain cities disputed as to Homer's birthplace.

John Redmond comes of a good family, and his father was for a long time a member of the House of Commons. I can remember the elder Redmond very well, and he was a man of the most courteous bearing and polished manners, a man of education and capacity, who, whenever he spoke in debate, spoke well and to the point, and was highly esteemed by all parties in the House. John Redmond was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, studied for the law and was called to the bar, but did not practice in the profession. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1881, and became a member of that National party which had been formed not long before under the guidance of Charles Stewart Parnell. From the time when he first took part in a Parliamentary debate it was evident that John Redmond had inherited his father's graceful manner of speaking, and it was soon discovered that he possessed a faculty of genuine eloquence which had not been displayed by the elder Redmond. John Redmond had and still has a voice of remarkable strength, volume, and variety of intonation, and he was soon afforded

[1] This forms the tenth of a series of articles on living British statesmen. Subjects already treated are: Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry Labouchere, Lord Aberdeen, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Other articles will have as subjects John Burns and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

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ample opportunity of testing his capacity for public speech. It was a great part of Parnell's policy that there should be a powerful Home Rule organization extending itself over all parts of Great Britain, founding institutions in all the principal cities and towns, and addressing audiences indoors and out on the subject of Ireland's demand for domestic self-government. John Redmond soon became one of the most effective organizers of this new movement and one of the most powerful pleaders of the cause on public platforms. The first time I ever heard him make a speech in public was at a great open-air meeting held in Hyde Park. He had to address a vast crowd, and I felt naturally anxious to know what his success might be under such trying conditions for a young speaker. He had then but a slender frame, and his somewhat delicately molded features did not suggest the idea of great lung-power. After his first sentence I felt no further doubt as to his physical capacity. He had a magnificent voice, clear, resonant, and thrilling, which made itself heard all over the crowd without the slightest apparent effort on the part of the speaker. I could not help being struck at the time by the seeming contrast between the boyish, delicate figure and the easy strength of the resonant voice.

During his earlier sessions in the House of Commons Redmond did not speak very often, but when he did speak he made it clear that he had at his command a gift of genuine eloquence. He held office as one of the "whips" of the Irish National party—that is to say, as one of the chosen officials whose duty it is to look after the arrangements of the party, to see that its members are always in their places at the right time, to settle as to the speakers who are to take part in each debate, and to enter into any necessary communications with the whips of the other parties in the House. Redmond was a man admirably suited for such work. He had had an excellent education; he had the polished manners of good society; he belonged to what I may call the country gentleman order, and could ride to hounds with a horsemanship which must have won the respect of the Tory squires from the hunting counties; and he had an excellent capacity and memory for all matters of arrangement and detail. He attended to his duties as one of the party whips with unfailing regularity, and could exercise with equal skill the influence of persuasiveness and that of official command.

In the early days of the Parnell party there was not, to be sure, any great demand on the marshaling power of the whips over the rank and file of the little army. For a considerable time the whole Parnellite party did not consist of more than ten or a dozen members. These members, however, were compelled to do constant duty, and to maintain the great game of Parliamentary obstruction revived by Parnell at all hours of the day and the night. It was quite a common thing for a member of the party to deliver a dozen or fifteen speeches in the course of a single sitting, and John Redmond had all his work to do in endeavoring to keep exhausted colleagues up to their business and to see that they did not leave the precincts of the House until Mr. Speaker should have formally announced that the day's sitting was over. Redmond's services were of inestimable value during such a period of trial. As the days went on, the Irish constituencies became more and more aroused to the necessity of increasing as far as possible the number of thoroughgoing Parnellites in the House by getting rid, at every election, of the Irish members—Irish Whigs as they were called—who did not go in thoroughly, heart and soul, for the policy of Parnell. Under such conditions the influence and the eloquence of John Redmond were of the most substantial service to his party in the work of stirring up the national sentiment among the Irish populations in the cities and towns of England and Scotland. Before many years had passed, John Redmond was one of the whips of an Irish National party in the House of Commons which numbered nearly ninety members. The increase of official duties thus put upon him and his brother whips did not seem to trouble him in the slightest degree. He was always on duty in the House, unless when he had to be on duty at some public meeting outside its precincts; he was ever in good spirits; could always give his chief the fullest and most exact information as to the conditions of each debate, and the best methods of getting full use of the numbers

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and the debating strength of the Irish party at any given moment.

During the greater part of this time he had not had much opportunity of cultivating his faculty as a debater, for the whip of a party is understood to be occupied rather in putting other men up to speak than in displaying eloquence of his own, and it was for several years not quite understood by the party that John Redmond was qualified to be and was destined to be one of its most commanding spokesmen. I ought to say that among other duties discharged by John Redmond was the trying and responsible task of traveling on more than one occasion over the United States and Canada and Australia to preach the Home Rule gospel to the Irish populations in those countries and to all others who would listen, and thus to obtain the utmost possible support for the great movement at home. For many sessions, however, John Redmond was regarded by his colleagues in the House as a speaker best heard to advantage on some great public platform outside the Parliamentary precincts, and very few of them indeed had yet formed the idea that he was also qualified to become one of the foremost orators in the representative chamber itself.

I may mention here that Mr. Redmond's intimate knowledge of the rules and practices of the House and his thorough acquaintance with its business ways were, in great measure, due to his having held for a time a place in one of the offices belonging to the House of Commons. He was appointed, before he became a member of the House, a clerk in the Vote Office, a department which has to do with the preparation of Parliamentary documents, the distribution of Parliamentary papers, and other such technical work. The clerkships in these offices are in the gift of the Speaker, are an avenue towards the highest promotions in the official staff of the House, and are usually given to young men who, in addition to high education and the promise of capacity, can bring some Parliamentary or family influence to bear on their behalf. John Redmond had some experience in this Vote Office, and it made him a thorough master of Parliamentary business. I had enjoyed his personal acquaintance for some time before he came into the House as a member, and I had been in the House myself some two years before his election. I remember often seeing him and exchanging a word with him as he stood within the House itself, just below the line which marks the place where the bar of the House is erected when there is occasion, for any public purpose, to admit a stranger thus far and no farther, in order that he may plead some cause before the House or present some petition. Officials employed in any of the offices belonging to the House are allowed the proud privilege of advancing up the floor of the chamber as far as the chair occupied by the Sergeant-at-Arms, the point at which the bar would be drawn across if occasion should require. Thus I had the opportunity of conversing with John Redmond on the floor of the House itself, before he had yet obtained the right of passing beyond the sacred line of the bar.

I am quite certain that Parnell himself did not, until the great crisis came in the Irish National party, fully appreciate the political capacity of John Redmond. Parnell always regarded him as both useful and ornamental—useful in managing the business of the party, and ornamental as a brilliant speaker on a public platform. But he did not appear to know, and had indeed no means of knowing, that Redmond had in himself the qualifications of a party leader and the debating power which could make him an influence in the House of Commons. The speeches which Redmond made, or rather was "put up" by his leader to make, in the House had often for their object merely to fill up time and keep a debate going until the moment arrived when Parnell thought a division ought to be taken. But when the great crisis came in the affairs of the party, then Redmond was soon able to prove himself made of stronger metal than even his leader had supposed. The crisis was, of course, when the Parnell divorce case came on, and Gladstone and the Liberal leaders generally became filled with the conviction that it would be impossible to carry a measure of Home Rule if Parnell were to retain the leadership of the Irish National party. I need not go over this old and painful story again; it is enough to say that the great majority of Parnell's own followers found themselves compelled to believe that it would

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be better for Ireland if Parnell were to resign the leadership and retire into private life for a certain time. This Parnell refused to do, and, in opposition to the earnest wishes of the majority of his followers, he published a sort of manifesto in denunciation of Gladstone. Then came the famous meetings of the Irish party in Committee-Room No. 15—one of the committee-rooms belonging to the House of Commons—and, after long days of angry and sometimes even fierce debate, the great majority of the party declared that they could no longer follow the leadership of Parnell. The minority made up their minds to hold with Parnell for good or evil.

I am willing and always was willing to render full justice to the motives which inspired the action of the minority. They did not feel themselves called upon to justify every act of Parnell's private life, but they took up the position that his private life had nothing to do with his political career, and that they could not abandon the leader who had done such service to Ireland merely because his name had become associated with a public scandal. On the other hand, the majority of the party, of whom I was one, held that their first duty was to their country, and that if the continued leadership of Parnell rendered it impossible for Gladstone to carry his Home Rule measure, they had to think only of their country and its national cause. During all these debates in Committee-Room No. 15, John Redmond took the leading part on the side of the minority. He became the foremost champion of Parnell's leadership. This position seemed to come to him as if in the nature of things. I well remember the ability and eloquence which he displayed in these debates, and the telling manner in which he put his arguments and his appeals. The course he took was all the more to his credit because Parnell had never singled him out as an object of especial favor, and, indeed, in the opinion of many among us, had not done full justice to his services in the House of Commons. Then came the formal division of the party. The majority met together and reconstituted the party with a new Chairman, while the minority associated themselves with Parnell as their leader for the purpose of going over to Ireland and endeavoring to organize the country in his support. When the end of the fierce open controversy was brought about at last by Parnell's sudden death, John Redmond was made the leader of the minority, and from that time forth he began to give more and more distinct evidences of his capacity for a Parliamentary leader's position. He and his group of followers kept themselves in the House of Commons entirely apart from their former colleagues. John Redmond had often to take a part in the debates of the House, and every one could see that the serious responsibility imposed on him was developing in him qualities of leadership, and even of statesmanship, which very few indeed had previously believed to be among his gifts.

Meanwhile the state of things created in Ireland by the split and the setting up of two opposing parties was becoming intolerable. Every man of patriotic feeling on either side of the controversy was coming to see more keenly every day that the maintenance of such a division must be fatal to the cause, for at least another generation. Some efforts were made by leading men on both sides to bring about a process of reconciliation. John Dillon on the one side, and John Redmond on the other, lent every help they could to these patriotic efforts. John Dillon had by this time become leader of the more numerous party, having been chosen to that position when the leader elected after the severance from Parnell had been compelled by ill health to resign the place. Every reasonable man among the Irish Nationalists, inside and outside Parliament, was coming more and more to see that there was no longer any occasion whatever for further severance, and that the country demanded a return to the old principle of union in the National ranks. John Dillon became impressed with the conviction that it might tend to smooth matters and to open a better chance for reconciliation if he, as one of the most conspicuous anti-Parnellites, were to resign his position, and to invite the whole party to come together again and elect a leader. Dillon was strongly of opinion that, as all matter of controversy had been buried in the early grave of Parnell, it would be better for the cause of future union that the new leader should be

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chosen from among the small number of men who had always adhered to Parnell's side. Dillon prevailed upon most of his friends to adopt his views on this subject. It was the custom of the Irish National party—indeed, of both the parties—to elect their leader at the opening of each session, and John Dillon had been re-elected more than once to the position of command in his own party. Accordingly, at the close of a session Dillon announced his intention to resign the place of leader, and he added to the announcement that he would not then accept re-election, even if it should be offered to him by a vote of his party. This patriotic course of action was most happy in its results. The Irish National members met together once again as a united party, and the leadership was conferred on John Redmond as an evidence alike of the confidence which was felt in his capacity and his sincerity, and a proof of the desire entertained by the majority for a thorough and cordial reunion of the whole party.

John Redmond was therefore the first leader of the whole party since the events of Committee-Room No. 15. John Dillon and his immediate predecessor had been only leaders of a majority, and now John Redmond was chosen as the leader of the whole party representing the Irish National cause in the House of Commons. He settled down at once to his new position with a temper and spirit admirably suited to the work he had to undertake. He seemed to have put away from his mind all memory of disunion in the party, and he became once more the friend as well as the leader of every member enrolled in its ranks. Many of those who formed the majority had in the first instance yielded to the persuasion of John Dillon and others in the election of Redmond as leader only because they believed that by such a course the interests of the cause could best be served just then. But I know that some of these men accepted with personal reluctance what seemed to be the necessity of the hour, and looked forward with anything but gratification to the prospect of having to serve under the new chief. John Redmond, while defending the cause of the still living Parnell, had shown in the service of his chief an energy and a passion which few of us could have expected of him, and was often utterly unsparing in his denunciation of the men who maintained the other side of the controversy. It was not unnatural that many of his former opponents should feel some doubt as to the possibility of working harmoniously under the leadership of a man who had been but lately so bitter an opponent. I had, at the time of the new leadership, been compelled by ill health to give up all active part in public life, but I talked with many members of the majority in the Irish party who told me frankly that they feared it would not be possible to get on under the leadership of John Redmond. Before long, however, these same men spontaneously assured me that they had changed their opinions on that subject, and were glad to find that they could work with Redmond in perfect harmony, and that his manner and bearing showed no sign whatever of any bitter memories belonging to the days of internal dispute. Redmond devoted himself absolutely to the House of Commons and the business of leadership, unless indeed when some pressing national interests compelled him to leave his place in St. Stephen's in order to see to the organization of the National cause in Ireland or in the United States. At the time when I am writing this article he has but lately returned from a visit of that kind to some of the great cities of the American Republic.

Fortunately for his country as well as for himself, John Redmond is a man of private means, is not compelled to earn a living, and can devote the whole of his time to the service of the National cause. He is always to be found at his post while the House of Commons is sitting, and I believe that his morning ride in Hyde Park with his wife every day is one of the few recreations in which he allows himself to indulge. I had not long ago a visit from a well-known member of the Irish Parliamentary party who holds one of its official positions and was at the time of the internal dispute an uncompromising opponent of Parnell's continued rule. This friend of mind I know was decidedly opposed at first to the election of John Redmond as leader, for the reason that he did not believe that such an arrangement could possibly work with smoothness and satisfaction to the party. But when I saw him lately, he assured me that he had

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entirely changed his opinions and that he did not believe that any party could possibly have a better leader than John Redmond had already proved himself to be. He had nothing but praise for Redmond's bearing and ways, for the manner in which he appeared to have banished from his mind all memory of past disunion, and for the unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the work of the party inside and outside the House of Commons.

Since then I have heard and read nothing but good accounts of the manner in which Redmond has reorganized the party. It has under his guidance become once again a powerful force in political life. The House of Commons, as a whole, has thoroughly recognized Redmond's position, influence, and capacity. The Prime Minister has given many proofs of the importance which he attaches to Redmond's decisions and movements. The new leader of the Irish party has won a much higher rank as a Parliamentary debater than he ever had attained to in the days before he had become invested with a really grave responsibility. The newspaper critics on all sides of political life are agreed in describing him as one of the foremost living debaters. Indeed, there are but three or four men in the House of Commons who could possibly be compared with him for eloquence and skill in debate, and there is a quality of grace and artistic form in his style of eloquence which often recalls the memories of brighter days, when the art of oratory was still cultivated in Parliament. The success with which he has conducted the movements of his party has compelled Ministerialists and Opposition alike to take serious account of Redmond and his followers when the chances of any great political measure are under consideration. Only quite lately, during the passage of the Education measure, he adopted a policy which at first greatly puzzled his opponents, and at the last moment succeeded in impressing the Government and the Ministerial party generally with the conviction that Redmond understands when and how to strike a decisive blow.

Of course we hear sometimes, and of late rather often, about differences in the Irish party itself, and about a threatened secession from John Redmond's leadership. The Tory papers in England, and even some of the journals which are professedly Liberal, made eager use of this supposed dissension, and endeavored to persuade themselves and their readers that Redmond has not a full hold over his followers and over the Irish people. I may tell my American readers that they will do well not to attach the slightest importance to these stories about a threatened secession from the lately reunited Irish National party. In the first place, I never heard of any political party which did not inclose in its ranks some men who could not always be reckoned on as amenable to the discipline which is found necessary in every political organization. There is a considerable number of Liberal members who cannot be counted on to follow at all times the guidance of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. There are many Ministerialists, and some of them very clever men, who have lately been proving that at times they would just as soon vote against Arthur Balfour as with him. But in regard to the Irish party and the members who do not always fall in with the wish of its leader, the actual facts are peculiar. The only members of the party who have lately been showing a tendency to mutiny are, with one exception, men of no account whatever in Ireland's political life. I do not wish to name any names, but I can state with deliberation that almost every one of the mutinous members just now is a man who has not the slightest chance of ever again being sent to represent an Irish constituency in the House of Commons. These men had long since forfeited the confidence of their constituents and their fellow-countrymen. They are perfectly aware of this fact; they know quite well that the next general election will see them put out of Parliamentary life; and, in despair of re-election, they probably think that they might as well make the most of the opportunity for rendering themselves conspicuous or for indulging in eccentricities which now can do them no further harm. It may be taken for granted that at the next general election the National constituencies of Ireland will send to the House of Commons no men who are not prepared to work in complete union with the National party, and to recognize the authority of the leader who has the

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confidence of his people. I do not care to waste many words on this subject, but I think it right to assure my American readers that they need not attach any serious importance to the doings of five or six men, most of whom are either mere "cranks" or are driven to desperation by disappointed personal ambition.

John Redmond has the confidence of his countrymen in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland, and we have seen that within the last few months he has obtained full assurance that he enjoys the confidence of his countrymen in the United States, in Canada, and in Australasia. I feel all the more ready to bear my testimony to his merits and his success because of the fact that I was, during a crisis which lasted for some years, in direct opposition to the policy which he felt himself conscientiously bound to adopt. The change of events has released him from any obligation to adhere to such a policy, and I do him the justice to believe that he accepted with the sincerest and most disinterested good will the first genuine opportunity that offered itself for a complete reunion of Irish Nationalists. John Redmond is still young enough to have a career before him, and I feel the fullest confidence in his future.

The Public Library a Paying Investment

By F. M. Crunden

Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library

IN his introduction to a recent book Mr. Carnegie says: "The most imperative duty of the State is the universal education of the masses. No money which can be usefully spent for this indispensable end should be denied. Public sentiment should, on the contrary, approve the doctrine that the more that can be judiciously spent, the better for the country. There is no insurance of nations so cheap as the enlightenment of the people."

Now, there is no institution so intimately, so universally, so constantly connected with the life of the whole people as the free public library—no instrumentality that can do so much to civilize society. The public schools alone cannot accomplish the task of elevating mankind to even the most modest ideal of a well-ordered society. As to the grade of our present boasted civilization, Sutherland, in his "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," divides mankind into nine grades: lower, middle, and upper savagery; lower, middle, and upper barbarism; and lower, middle, and upper civilization. He says that the most advanced nations of the world are now in the stage of lower civilization, and predicts the arrival of the middle stage in about five hundred years. Can any one with ideals behold throughout the world the hand of man against his brother and take issue with this view?

Our public schools have been the chief source of the greater general intelligence, and hence of the industrial superiority, of our citizens over those of other countries. "The initiative, alertness, and fertility of resource which the American is nowadays credited with displaying, though partly a climatic, is chiefly an educational, product." But the public schools cannot accomplish impossibilities. They are not to blame for the fact that they can reach the great majority during only six or eight years, or that only one and one-half per cent. of the children in the United States go through the high school. But wherever there is a public library, the teachers are to blame if they do not graduate all their pupils, at whatever age they may leave school, into the People's University.

The educational world is, as it has been at all times, divided on various questions relating to methods and curricula—whether or to what extent the classic languages should be taught, what is the value of mathematics, what is the best method of teaching history, composition, literature, as to the value of manual training, etc. The public library furnishes a common rallying-ground. No teacher or intelligent layman can fail to agree that all students should be led to this storehouse of all knowledge, this fountain source of all inspiration, the library. No improvement in public-school methods that has been made or can be

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made can surpass in importance the recent introduction of literature into the regular work of the school. It is the application, in an elementary way, of university methods, and gives greater assurance of a continuous course of self-education than any other plan could offer. Every one will recall the noted dictum of Carlyle, "The university of these days is a collection of books." This view has been recently amplified and emphasized by President Harper. In an article published in the "North American Review" he says:

"The place occupied by libraries and laboratories in the educational work of to-day, as compared with that of the past, is one of commanding importance. Indeed, the library and the laboratory have already practically revolutionized the methods of higher education. In the really modern institution the chief building is the library. . . . It is the center of the institutional activity. . . . That factor of college work, the library, fifty years ago almost unknown, to-day already the center of the institution's intellectual activity, half a century hence, with its sister, the laboratory, almost equally unknown fifty years ago, will have absorbed all else, and will have become the institution itself."

The all-essential character of the library as an instrumentality of higher education is so obvious that no one nowadays would think of taking issue with Carlyle and Dr. Harper; but its equal necessity as a factor in elementary education is not yet universally accepted. I have not space to go into a detailed argument, but must rest my case on a quotation from Sully's Psychology, and on strong statements made by two of the highest educational authorities in the country, and on positive testimony from the experience of some twenty grammar-school principals in St. Louis.

Sully says: "The habitual narration of stories, description of places, and so on, is an essential ingredient in the rudimentary stages of education. The child that has been well drilled at home in following stories will, other things being equal, be the better learner at school. The early nurture of the imagination by means of good wholesome food has much to do with determining the degree of imaginative power, and, through this, of the range of intellectual activity ultimately reached."

In an address before the American Library Association in 1890 Dr. Harris said:

"What there is good in our American system points toward this preparation of the pupil for independent study of the book by himself. It points toward acquiring the ability of self-education by means of the library."

Space forbids more than a few samples of the replies returned by the principals above mentioned to three questions asked them regarding the results of the use of sets of books (thirty copies of the same book in each box) sent to the schools by the Public Library:

1. What value do you attach to literature and supplementary reading in connection with the school curriculum?

2. What effect has the general reading done by the pupils of your school had on their progress in their studies?

3. Do you find the books supplied by the library an aid to discipline?

I.

"The cultivation of a taste for good literature should be, it seems to me, one of the chief aims of the school curriculum. The development of a higher morality and a truer culture and refinement—which, after all, is the final aim of education—can best, and perhaps only, be accomplished by the encouragement of a closer and closer acquaintance with our best literature. I attach to well-directed general reading as high a value as to any subject taught in the schools.

"I consider supplementary reading as good in itself, and therefore cannot regard with favor the conscious use of it as a means for maintaining discipline. Nevertheless, like any subject which thoroughly interests the children, it leads them into voluntary application, and so assists in cultivating that spirit which, in the end, eliminates the problem of discipline."

II.

A principal of long experience in one of the poorest and most crowded districts writes:

"Of immense value to all our pupils, but especially to the poor child that can attend school but a very few years.

"Assists their progress in their studies,

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awakens and deepens their interest in the subject, adds to thought and information, and changes dry studies into the exchange of ideas, the answering of aroused curiosity, and fixes facts more permanently in the memory.

"The books supplied by the library *are* an aid to discipline. They change the current of pupils' thoughts, and put them in a better and happier state of mind—more conducive to study and improvement."

III.

"The literature furnished by the library has put a life into the reading exercise that it did not have before. It has made reading the principal study in the course.

"Yes, an aid to discipline, decidedly."

IV.

Here is a brief extract from another letter:

"There can be no doubt of the helpfulness of the public library reading sets in the school. It is the universal experience with us that pupils who do most and best supplementary reading succeed best in all of their work."

V.

The head assistant in the Columbia School sums up by saying:

"Supplementary reading, especially in the lower grades, is worth all the rest of the school work."

The principal of the same school writes:

"We make no parade of 'literature work' or of supplementary reading. The latter term is a misnomer; it is misleading; what others term supplementary reading in my school is *the whole thing*."

He adds that his experience has shown "that those who read most widely accomplish most in other forms of school work; that the effect upon conduct is most salutary, showing in no case a bad result from the reading habit; that the ordinary nature-study books do not appeal to children strongly enough to secure voluntary reading as wholes; that the 'classics' tend to supplant everything sensational or weak; that children who are natural make as few errors in selecting for themselves as their elders make in selecting for them; that the 'bad' books generally appear but once; that a book is, on the whole, good or bad as determined by the attitude of the mind toward it."

President Eliot sums up the subject in this paragraph:

"From the total training during childhood there should result in the child a taste for interesting and improving reading, which should direct and inspire its subsequent intellectual life. That schooling which results in this taste for good reading, however unsystematic and eccentric the schooling may have been, has achieved a main end of elementary education; and that schooling which does not result in implanting this permanent taste has failed."

The public-school education, except for the insignificant number who take the high-school course, is, without the library, a mere bread-and-butter course (for most children dry bread only). Without the library it makes merely breadwinners, not men. But, supplemented by the library, it starts its pupils on a lifelong course of self-instruction which will make them, men and women, worthy citizens of the Republic. How can a boy graduating from the grammar school at fourteen (and remember that the vast majority leave before that)—how can a boy who has merely finished the curriculum of the grammar school know anything about the lessons of history? What comprehension can he have of his rights and duties as a citizen? Even if from his earliest years he has been using the library he can know little; but through the library, he will have been started on the path of self-education, and that is the best that high school or college can do. What has the average boy who leaves school with a positive distaste for books, because he has known none but text-books—what has he to guide him in the discharge of his political duties? How is he to know logic from sophistry? What is to keep him from supporting policies that the past has tried and found wanting? How is he to distinguish the honest advocates of real reform from the artful demagogue? We cannot grow citizens on the husks and shells of arithmetic, spelling, geography, and grammar, with a few dry bones of history added for the few who can stay long enough in school to get them. The public library must be made to supplement the public school, and in such a way as to lead to a continued course in the library, no matter at what age the school

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career is closed. In his farewell address, Washington gave to his countrymen this wise injunction, which has lost none of its importance:

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that this should be enlightened."

"*Education!*" exclaims Mazzini; "and my whole doctrine is summed up in this grand word."

A man, or his family acting for him, does not stop to count the cost of what will save his life. Society should not count the cost of an agency necessary to its preservation and progress. If the public library cost ten times as much as it does, it would still be a profitable investment. Let me briefly recapitulate what it does for a community:

1. It doubles the value of the education the child receives in school, and, best of all, imparts a desire for knowledge which serves as an incentive to continue his education after leaving school; and, having furnished the *incentive*, it further supplies the *means* for a lifelong continuance of education.

2. It provides for the education of adults who have lacked, or failed to make use of, early opportunities.

3. It furnishes information to teachers, ministers, journalists, authors, physicians, legislators, all persons upon whose work depend the intellectual, moral, sanitary, and political welfare and advancement of the people.

4. It furnishes books and periodicals for the technical instruction and information of mechanics, artisans, manufacturers, engineers, and all others whose work requires technical knowledge—of all those persons upon whom depends the industrial progress of the city.

5. It is of incalculable benefit to the city by affording to thousands the highest and purest entertainment, by substituting the reading-room for the bar-room, and thus lessening crime and disorder.

6. It makes the city a more desirable place of residence, and thus retains the best citizens and attracts others of the same character.

7. More than any other one agency, it elevates the general standard of intelligence throughout the great body of the community, upon which its material prosperity, as well as its moral and political well-being, must depend.

Finally, the public library includes potentially all other means of social amelioration. A man who founds a hospital does a good act; yet the benefits of his beneficence reach comparatively few. An art museum is a very useful institution in a community; yet how limited is its influence compared with that of a public library! And, above all, the hospital is only a hospital; it is a definite, a limited good; it is a finished structure, a marble shaft; it cannot reproduce itself. A library, on the other hand, is a living organism, having within itself the capacity of infinite growth and reproduction. It may found a dozen hospitals and art museums and inspire to noble deeds of every kind, all the while imparting intelligence and inculcating industry, thrift, morality, public spirit, and all those qualities that constitute the wealth and well-being of a community.

With all this work to its credit, can the public library be other than a profitable investment? On the first item alone—and we have conclusive testimony that the statement is a just one—the public library might fairly claim an equal appropriation with the public schools. Too much can hardly be paid for doubling the value of the education given by the public schools. But the library, for that one item of its work, does not call for one-tenth of the public-school revenue. It is, indeed, well satisfied if it receive one-tenth of the public-school appropriation for *all* its work. It seldom, if ever, is allowed that much. That is one of the notable features of the public library, that it is so well balanced a machine, so well adapted to its purposes, that it supplies more force with less fuel than any other mechanism yet devised for the melioration of society. The service costs $25 or more a year for each child that attends the public school. Once matriculated in the public library, it costs the community but $1 a year. As Stanley Jevons says: "In omitting that small expenditure in a universal system of libraries which would enable young men or women to keep up the three R's and continue their education, we spend the £97, and stingily decline the £3 really needed to make the

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rest of the £100 effective." It is as if a man should cheerfully pay $20 for an overcoat and refuse an additional half-dollar for buttons to make it thoroughly serviceable.

My argument has been mainly on the material side. I have sought to show that even in direct material returns the public library is a paying investment. The argument is so plain that it may be summed up in a syllogism, the major premise of which is a truism, and the minor premise an unquestionable fact:

General intelligence is the necessary foundation of prosperity and social order.

The public library is one of the chief agencies, if not the most potent and far-reaching agency, for promoting general intelligence.

Therefore, money devoted to the maintenance of a public library is money well invested by a community.

So much for the public library as a factor in material prosperity. But the moral problem is of greater importance and more arduous solution than the material. "The slow moral progress of this nation," says President Eliot, "is due to the reading of poor books by the children." Yes, and to reading no books at all. To put books into idle hands, and ideas and ideals into empty heads, to substitute good books for poor among children—this is the most important function of the public library. It can, however, be but imperfectly performed without the earnest co-operation of the teacher. I have cited convincing testimony to the value of literature in the regular instruction and discipline of the school. Still greater is the aid it gives to moral education.

"If I were king of the world," says Dr. Stanley Hall, "I should have an examination of teachers as to their ability to tell a good story. It is the one hypnotic influence that tends for morals."

Morals cannot be successfully taught dogmatically. The greatest teacher of morals is the power of example, the life of an individual lived under our eyes. It is the peculiar privilege of the literary artist, whether novelist or biographer, to give us this opportunity for observation as we can never enjoy it in our own circle of acquaintance; for here we cannot know the inner life, and through the impassive, or the smiling, countenance we get no glimpse of the dormant passions, the hidden sorrows, the inner trials and triumphs, which might profoundly interest and affect us. All this the novelist discloses to us; and that is what makes a great novel the most powerful of all teachers.

Besides the moral influence it exercises directly and indirectly through the reading of its books, the public library furnishes in itself, as well as through its books, an excellent school of manners, which have been defined as minor morals. These functions should be added to my brief list of the benefits of a public library.

Franklin was able, in a few years, to note the obvious effect of the subscription library movement started by him. "These libraries," he says, "have improved the general conversation of Americans, and made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen in other countries."

The Ben Franklin of to-day—I think it will be generally admitted that for practical sagacity the country has not seen his equal since the death of Franklin—has shown beyond question his opinion of the supreme value of the public library. It is significant, and a strong argument for the utility of the library, that the two men who, in the history of this country, stand most eminent for shrewdness and practical wisdom, are the *first* founder of a library in America and the *greatest* founder of libraries the world has ever seen. I think most persons will agree that no one is a better judge of what constitutes a good investment than Andrew Carnegie.

We cannot go far in the discussion of any high theme without coming upon the original and fundamental question of the origin and destiny of man and the end and aim of his earthly activities. Individual men work with numerous different ends in view; the great mass, sad to say, with no other thought than physical existence. But the divinity that shapes our ends has, beyond doubt, a definite design. As we get glimpses of the undeveloped pattern in the loom of time, and as we view larger sections pictured in the visions of poets and prophets, we are led to believe that the design is a constant approximation to a perfected man in a perfected society. We may hasten this

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process or we may retard it. It seems to be a phase of our destiny that we are at intervals seized with sudden accessions of madness; it seems to be a part of the plan of the Weaver to allow us, occasionally, to unravel the product of a toilsome quarter-century; but the work is resumed, and the fabric grows in length and breadth and beauty of design.

As I have said, we generally get what we really pray for. "It was the wise Goethe," quotes Mr. Henderson in his "Education and the Larger Life," "who said, 'Be careful what you pray for in your youth, lest you get too much of it in your old age.'

"If we pray for profit and wages and all sorts of messes of pottage, we shall get them. If we pray for outward conformity and stock education, we shall get them. If we pray for ugliness and squalor and sweatshops and the tenement-house of a hundred sorrows, we shall get them.

"But suppose that we changed our prayer. Suppose that we prayed for health and beauty and accomplishment and power and social fellowship, for that human wealth which will go all round, for the wealth of individual integrity and of social well-being. Surely as come the seed-time and the harvest, we should get these things too."

The purpose of all man's activities is the making, the improving, the uplifting of man himself; and that is the highest type of community that furnishes to every individual member the best environment, the most favorable opportunities, for this main end and purpose. As Channing says: "The glory and happiness of a community consists in vigorous efforts, springing from love sustained by faith, for the diffusion, through all classes, of intelligence, of self-respect, of self-control, of thirst for knowledge and for moral and religious growth. . . . It is a plain truth, and yet how little understood, that the greatest thing in a city is man himself. He is its end. We admire its palaces; but the mechanic who builds them is greater than the palaces. . . . You talk of the prosperity of your city. I know but one true prosperity. Does the human soul grow and prosper here?"

Or, as Ruskin tersely put it, "That is the richest community that nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy souls."

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Anno 1870. By Detley von Liliencron. Edited by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 138 pages.

Century of Sonnets (A). By S. B. Herrick. R. H. Russell, New York. 6×7¾ in. 109 pages. $2.60, net.

A very taking little quarto, bound in white vellum tastefully stamped in gilt, containing a selection of sonnets, beginning with Wordsworth and ending with William Watson and Philip Bourke Marston, prefaced by an introduction which defines the sonnet, describes it, and gives a brief historical résumé of the development and practice of the art.

Circle (The). By Katherine Cecil Thurston. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 340 pages. $1.50.

An English novel of singular character and some promise. It follows the life of the daughter of an exile in London, and carries her around the "circle" of solitude, ambition, activity under trying conditions, and a voluntary return for a time at least to the shadows of obscurity. It has one or two improbabilities, and is sometimes keyed a little too high. A love motive runs through and governs the story.

English Language (The): An Introduction to the Principles which Govern its Right Use. By Frederick Manley and W. N. Hailmann. C. C. Birchard & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 447 pages. 75c.

Irrigation Institutions: A Discussion of the Economic and Legal Questions Created by the Growth of Irrigated Agriculture in the West. By Elwood Mead, C.E., M.S. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 392 pages. $1.25, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Jonathan: A Tragedy. By Thomas Ewing, Jr. The Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 148 pages. $1.

The author has imbued himself with the Bible narrative and other portions of the Hebrew literature. He has, however, happily, not attempted to reproduce archaic diction. His style is at once natural and dignified. The dramatic movement centers, not about the exaltation of David, but about the tragic career of Jonathan. It is not unlikely that many who read this tragedy will find their interest in the Biblical narrative decidedly

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quickened by seeing its human traits from this new point of view.

Lady of the Lake (The). By Sir Walter Scott. Edited by George Rice Carpenter. (Longmans' English Classics.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 191 pages. 75c.

Little Green God (The). By Caroline Atwater Mason. (Second Edition.) Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 146 pages. 75c.

A satire on the religious fads that are sometimes cultivated by "society people," even by those within "church circles." It is the story of a missionary from India, who, on a visit to the United States, is "wounded in the house of his friends," and returns to the missionary field where to him life is simpler and kindlier. There is not one thrust in this book that is too severe. Its great defect, however, is its choice of types for characters. The missionary is too shabby; the daughter and wife of his clerical host are too frivolous.

Making of Our Middle Schools: An Account of the Development of Secondary Education in the United States. By Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×8¼ in. 547 pages. $3.

Both the special student and the general reader who is at all interested in what is commonly called high-school education will find this both an attractive and a valuable work. Treating his subject historically, Professor Brown recognizes three distinct periods: the first, identical with that of our colonial history; the second, extending from the Revolutionary to the Civil War; the third, from then till the present time. In the first the general type of secondary education was that of the old "grammar," or "Latin," school derived from English models; in the second the academy and in the third the high school are the representative type. In the treatment of the problems, old and new, which the expanding field of secondary education presents, the history of its gradual development here presented is a desirable illuminant of the onward way. The glimpses given of the colonial grammar schools, and of their successors the academies, are sufficiently anecdotical for the curious and instructive for the thoughtful reader. We have improved upon their methods, but whether we have improved upon their product in point of fitness for a career is more open to question. The influence that the growth of democracy has had on the development of our educational system is large, and is amply recognized in these pages. What the whole movement has led up to, and is pointing to, is considered in the closing chapters. The bibliographical notes appended to successive chapters, and the multifarious information embodied in the appendices, round out the subject completely.

Master of Warlock (The): A Virginia War Story. By George Cary Eggleston. Illustrated. The Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston. 5×7⅞ in. 433 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Eggleston's latest story, like its immediate predecessor, has value as showing the Confederate side of the Civil War. Even to the reader who does not care much about history, the fact that every page bears evidence of the writer's first-hand knowledge is of value. The tale is not only charming because of exact local color, but is also lifelike as to the character-drawing.

Murillo. By George C. Williamson, Litt.D. (Bell's Miniature Series of Painters.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 67 pages. 50c.

Reserved for later notice.

Mystery of Sleep (The). By John Bigelow, LL.D. (Second Edition, Rewritten and Enlarged.) Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 216 pages. $1.50.

A second edition, rewritten and enlarged, of Mr. Bigelow's very suggestive and thoughtful discussion of the significance of sleep.

Negro in Africa and America (The). By Joseph Alexander Tillinghast, M.A. (Publications of the American Economic Association.) Published for the Society by the Macmillan Co., New York. 6×9½ in. 231 pages. $1.25.

A valuable pessimistic monograph. The author apparently does not believe that religion or education or political rights can lift American negroes above the level of the lowest whites, although among whites these forces have lifted to the very highest level of civilization families and races once as despised as the negroes. Negroes are to him a race apart, and he does not compare their achievements with those of whites having the poorest environment, but with the general achievements of our race, which also stands as a thing apart, as if all its members sustained its standards. For this reason his figures as to negro crime are utterly misleading, and his figures as to negro industrial progress are, if possible, worse. Indeed, he denies negro industrial progress since the overthrow of slavery, which institution, however, he somewhat inconsistently condemns as an anachronism. Nevertheless, despite the limitations due to want of human sympathy with the race investigated, the volume is a valuable contribution to the literature of the negro problem. Its spirit is scientific, and the facts which it presents, though partial, are true and significant, and ought to be known to the friends of the negro race, as they are already known to those who would abridge its rights.

New Boy at Dale (The). By Charles Edward Rich. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 294 pages. $1.25, net.

The story of a boy stolen from home who gets into circus life, then goes to school, has boyish sorrows and joys and exciting adventures, becomes an athlete, and finally takes part in an exciting boat race. There is vivacity in the telling. Few more interesting boys' books are published.

Notre Dame de Paris: A Short History and Description of the Cathedral. By Charles Hiatt. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 107 pages. $1.

Mr. Charles Hiatt, who has already written interestingly and instructively of Westminster, Chester, and Beverley, has now published a capital account of Notre Dame at Paris. The work is commendable from every point of view; the architect and the student of architecture will find suggestion in it, and the stranger in Paris will gain from it what he cannot find in the ordinary guide-book. Lastly, the lover of Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de

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Paris" ought to have Mr. Hiatt's volume at hand during the next reading of what many consider Hugo's masterpiece. For, with Manzoni's "Promessi Sposi" and Scott's "Quentin Durward" and Thackeray's "Henry Esmond," the "Notre Dame de Paris" of Victor Hugo is a book which should be read and read and read again, even to the exclusion of present-day production of so-called historical novels.

Personal Reminiscences of Prince Bismarck. By Sidney Whitman. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×8½ in. 346 pages. $1.60, net. (Postage additional.)

To his "Imperial Germany," "Teuton Studies," "The Realm of the Hapsburgs," and "The King of Rumania," Mr. Sidney Whitman now adds a book which in appeal to all who are interested in the personal rather than in the political may find a greater welcome than that which has attended the publication of the other works. Mr. Whitman was one of the few persons who had frequent access to Prince Bismarck and who knew him well. This Boswell-like description of the Iron Chancellor, therefore, bears on every page the mark of first-hand knowledge. This is emphasized by the Introduction, which fits the reader to understand Mr. Whitman's train of thought and his standpoint as compared with the thought and standpoints of others who have written appreciations of the Iron Chancellor. It will take more than this book, however, completely to convince Americans that the Bismarckian ideal of politics was the loftiest. No matter how Titanic Bismarck's genius for centralization and organization, there was still in his character a latent element of uncouthness and boorishness. Compared with such statesmen and contemporaries as Gladstone, for instance, we seem somehow let down from the spiritual to the material. Yet, as we also learn from Mr. Whitman's pages (and as other biographers—Mr. Stearns, Mr. Jacks, Herr Busch, and M. Andler, for instance—have already shown), the task which Bismarck had to do needed a rough-and-ready "boss." Present-day tasks do not need so much roughness, although they need more readiness. That they are being accomplished, in some respects better than the old Chancellor would have accomplished them, cannot be doubted by those who have admired the notably strong actions of Chancellors Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow. If Bismarck laid only a rough foundation for the great German Empire which he unified, he did at least lay the foundations strong, so that they cannot be moved. His was not a builder's hand for the superstructure.

Pride of Tellfair (The). By Elmore Elliott Peake. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 400 pages. $1.50.

While there is a good deal that is rather trivial and crude here, while the construction is inchoate and the writing often careless, it remains true that the author gets very close to the people he is portraying; the characters are live human beings with real fun in them, people who seem natural because they have little faults and inconsistencies and attractions, as well as more serious qualities. There are many amusing side incidents and minor characters—the grumpy old squire and the jovial oldest inhabitant, for instance. The "hero" ("leading young man" would be a better phrase) is a shrewd, able, persuasive young country lawyer, and the "heroine" is a charming and sweet girl. The total result is a photographic picture of a typical small town of the Middle States, its oddities, amusements, gossip, and love affairs.

Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1902. The Government Printing-Office, Washington, D. C. 6×10 in. 229 pages.

Romance of Cinderella (The). Done in Rhyme by Ella N. Boult. Illustrated. R. H. Russell, New York. 6½×10 in. 146 pages.

This volume should find its place among the lavishly illustrated and superbly bound books for children, and yet there is in text and illustration a great deal which will appeal to the reader of larger growth. Both text and illustration are abundantly worthy of the publisher's superb setting.

San Francisco and Thereabout. By Charles Keeler. Illustrated. The California Promotion Committee, San Francisco. 6×9¼ in. 97 pages.

Short History and Description of the Church and Abbey of Mont S. Michel. By H. J. L. J. Massé, M.A. Illustrated. (Bell's Handbooks to Continental Churches.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 138 pages. $1.

This is the latest addition to Bell's "Handbooks to Continental Churches," and is the history and description of the Church and Abbey of Mont St. Michel, with a brief account of the town. The history is condensed, and the book is generously supplied with admirable illustrations.

Sir John Everett Millais. By A. L. Baldry. (Bell's Miniature Series of Painters.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6¼ in. 64 pages. 50c.

Reserved for later notice.

Thirsting for the Springs. By J. H. Jowett, M.A. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 4½×7½ in. 208 pages.

The Outlook has had occasion to speak warmly of the preceding volumes which have introduced Mr. Jowett to American readers. The present volume includes two dozen sermonettes, originally published in the "Examiner," on themes of every-day religion, devotional and practical, and here collected in response to many requests for their republication. The pulpit of Carrs Lane, Birmingham, has been filled for a century by men of power. These short sermons exhibit the qualities by which Mr. Jowett, the successor of the late Dr. Dale, maintains its attractiveness and influence unimpaired.

Watteau and His School. By Edgcumbe Staley, B A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 160 pages. $1.75.

Reserved for later notice.

Works of Jane Austen (The). Hampshire Edition. In 5 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 4×6¾ in. $5.

An altogether desirable and pleasing small-volume edition.

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Correspondence

Gifts to Institutions

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The Outlook remarks anent the recent discussion of "Tainted Money" in its pages that "it apparently leaves President Bascom alone in his contention that trustees of benevolent institutions are to sit in judgment on the moral character of the transactions by which the money has been made which is offered to them for public use." You do not wish to devote more space to this discussion; but will you permit me to say how emphatically I indorse President Bascom's words, to express the opinion that were a free and full discussion possible, he would be found to be one of a great company, and to add that were this not true the future of the American church and college would, in my judgment, be black indeed. May I also say that I can find no such condemnation of President Bascom's position and indorsement of your own in President Pritchett's letter as your comment upon that letter implies. Surely President Pritchett does not mean to say that if Tweed, in the case supposed of the gift of a million dollars to Columbia for a school of politics, had said nothing about the school bearing his name, it would have been right to take it. His point, as I understand it, is that, while an institution cannot trace back each gift to its origin, and while the dishonestly earned million from a repentant sinner should certainly be accepted, the million from a notorious sinner still in the midst of his sinning cannot be accepted at all by an institution which would maintain moral leadership. That there may not be confusion left in this matter, the seriousness of which The Outlook surely recognizes as clearly as I and others do, will you kindly inform your readers whether we are correct in understanding you to hold that it would have been right for Columbia College to permit Tweed in the heyday of his career to found its school of politics, provided it did not bear his name, and that it would be decent for Delaware to-day similarly to accept from Mr. Addicks, whose "holding up of a State" Mr. Kennan chances at this moment to be exposing in your pages, a million dollars for a new school of politics or religion at Wilmington?

EDWIN D. MEAD.

Boston, February 7.

[We cannot better answer this question than by repeating the statement in our original editorial: "If there is a reasonable suspicion that conditions exist in the mind of the donor which are not expressed, there may be occasions on which it would be legitimate for the board of trustees to avoid misunderstanding by some explicit statement." In the two cases to which our correspondent refers, it might be very proper for the trustees explicitly to declare to the donor their condemnation of his character and course, and, if he was still willing that the gift should stand, with this public condemnation coming from them, we see no reason why the money should not be taken and devoted to beneficent purposes. The objection to the doctrine that a board of trustees may constitute itself a counsel, prosecuting attorney, judge, and jury, and try, convict, and condemn a donor of money without a hearing, and punish him for his real or supposed offense by refusing to accept his gift, is clearly and well put by the "Evening Post" in the following paragraph: "If a college should refuse to accept their surplus wealth, an honest man should decline to buy their products, a Christian should scorn to receive their pay, a conscientious investor should see that no securities tainted by their management shall enter his strong box. In fine, no taint attaches to the beneficence of a wealthy ill-doer which does not infect all his other activities. The college president who accepts an endowment from him is technically no more *particeps criminis* than the clerk who draws his pay from him."—THE EDITORS.]

A Statesman's Valedictory

To the Editors of The Outlook:

At this time, when the unscrupulous portion of the press is endeavoring to embitter popular feeling against Germany, the farewell address of Ambassador White at the banquet tendered to him by the German-American Society in Berlin, last November, is not only wholesome but

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desirable reading. In this address Dr. White made an extended review of German-American relations in education and politics, in peace and in war. One passage must be quoted here: "When some of my fellow-citizens have endeavored in these latter days to reproach Germany with anti-American feeling in a more recent military struggle between our country and another power, I have reminded them that this more recent estrangement is infinitely outweighed by the fact that, in that life-and-death struggle for the very existence of our Nation, Germany was the only great country in which all classes, from first to last, stood by us through evil report and good report."

This address, wisely quenching the coals of strife, deserves to be read throughout the land. The "Yale Alumni Weekly," New Haven, Conn., is, so far as I am aware, the only journal that has published it in full—some nine columns. It is given in the "Weekly" for January 14, and can be procured for ten cents.

W.

Country Schools

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Mr. Matson says (in The Outlook for December 27 last), "The methods used in the average country school are much the same as they were two or three decades ago." The rural school teachers know this to be a misstatement, an honest one, no doubt. The day has passed when the country school was "let out" to any little girl of fifteen who "stood high" in her class, provided she would run the school for the least money. To-day nearly all rural schools have college, normal, or training school graduates for teachers; these graduates, trained in the latest educational thought, are not likely to go backward, and to look up, at great cost, the grandmother methods.

Then, they are too independent to be tied to any precedent, and too well supervised not to go straight on toward the newest—a walk which their inclination usually approves. Western Massachusetts has made a special way to place her small schools in line with the large town schools, by offering to teachers of the former two dollars per week extra wages, the one condition being that the towns thus favored shall employ only well-graduated and naturally well-equipped teachers.

Throughout New England several small schools unite in choosing a superintendent in common for their twenty-five or thirty schools. At intervals of three weeks or less each school receives an official visit. The superintendent, often a former grammar or high school teacher, is alive, and he imparts life to the children in his charge; his teachers are required to fill in, from their own mental resources, a well-defined outline of study; if they fail in this, they are dismissed from the service.

In towns where there are both the one-grade and the multigrade schools the same course of study is strictly followed by the two classes of schools, so that a pupil studying in the fifth grade in his school, numbering eight, could step on any day into the fifth grammar grade of a town school.

We quote from authority: "The education of the children in the small rural schools is as carefully considered, the standards of work are as fixed, the supervision as thorough, the results as good, as in the grade schools of our large towns and cities."

A. C. S.

For the Boys

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The rallying-point of all the boys' clubs of one New York neighborhood is found in the block on East One Hundred and Fifteenth Street between First and Pleasant Avenues. Congregated in back rooms and in cellars, mostly under saloons, clubs of from twenty-five to thirty boys pass the evenings playing a few games, making some speeches, and doing a great deal in the way of boxing and amateur prize-rings.

The Home Garden recently purchased the house at 419 East One Hundred and Fifteenth Street, in the midst of this community of clubs. It was soon whispered abroad that there were games and warm, well-lighted rooms inside, and as a consequence many eyes were turned towards the comfortable-looking little red brick house.

Already many of the boys come in the afternoon to play games and read, and it only awaits volunteer workers or money to pay regular workers for the evenings to see a wholesale desertion of cellars and back rooms; for, as one boy expressed it,

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"the clubs don't last long, for somebody swipes the money; then the club busts."

The managers of the Home Garden recently held their second anniversary, and all were enthusiastic over the progress of the work which had such small beginnings.

The Play-school is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and stands in need of financial help in carrying on the work. All communications may be addressed to the Superintendent, Miss Anna C. Ruddy, The Home Garden, 419 East 115th Street, New York.

The Child and the Bible

A correspondent writes: "I am reading the Bible to a girl of twelve years. How can I explain the attitude of the Lord toward his chosen people, the Jews, in the first two books of the Old Testament? I do not believe the Lord gave such personal instructions as is assumed, or that he favored inhuman measures of any kind. I do not like the child to get the idea that these things really occurred, but I am at a loss how to satisfactorily explain it myself."

We counsel the utmost frankness. It is certainly not right to give children certain ideas of truth which they will in after years learn are false. On the other hand, there is almost equal danger in trying to deal with the mind of a child as if it were the mind of an adult. The questionings that come to you are not the questionings that come to a child; and till that questioning spirit arises, it is not well to arouse it. As soon, however, as the child begins to question whether really God did command certain cruel things to be done, the child ought to be treated with the same fairness with which you would treat yourself. Thus, for instance, the naïve belief in fairies and in sprites, which is so characteristic of young children, is something which we would not on any account drive out of them; but when the time comes in the child's life for that belief gradually to be dissipated, it belongs to the parent to see that true conceptions—conceptions in accordance with actual facts—are put in the place of such belief. So it is with regard to the Bible. It may be added, care should be taken that in this process too much emphasis be not placed upon the negative side, and greater attention, for that reason, should be given to the moral and spiritual teachings which underlie even those stories which repel us the most.

Fighting Tuberculosis

The New York City Charity Organization Society's Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis now has one hundred families in charge, in each of which there are one or more victims of the disease. Among these there are not less than twenty for whom care in sanatoria or board in private families in the country is regarded by their physicians as absolutely essential. All of the sanatoria are filled to overflowing, and most have waiting lists. The Committee is therefore obliged to accept the alternative of boarding these patients, who are in the early stages of the disease, in suitable private boarding-houses. There has been much difficulty in finding boarding-places in which a suitable and sufficient diet can be assured. For the remaining patients, who cannot be removed from their homes, special diet and other forms of relief are required in an amount which cannot easily be supplied from existing relief agencies.

Under these circumstances the Committee asks for an immediate special fund of five thousand dollars for the special relief of cases under its care. It is desired to rent, in a suitable location, a farm-house, and to equip and maintain a modest boarding-house, in which accommodations can be provided, under medical supervision, for from twelve to fifteen young women, whose removal from their present unfavorable surroundings is most imperative. A portion of this sum should also be available for paying board, pending the completion of the plan above suggested, and the remainder for relief of those who must remain at home.

For the expense of its general work the Committee last summer appealed for ten thousand dollars, in response to which appeal eight thousand dollars have been received. The remaining two thousand asked for will barely be sufficient to carry through the current year the important work which the Committee has undertaken. The Secretary of the Committee is Mr. Charles M. Johnson. Contributions may be sent to him at 104 West Twenty-second Street, New York.

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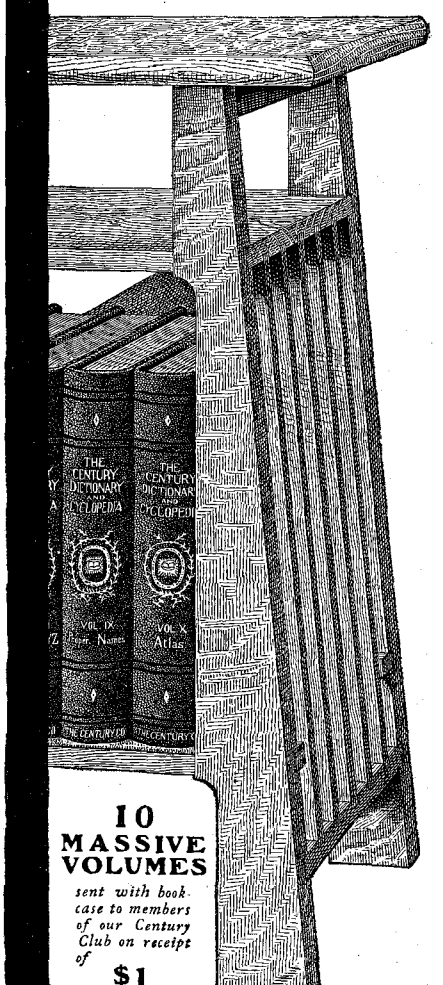

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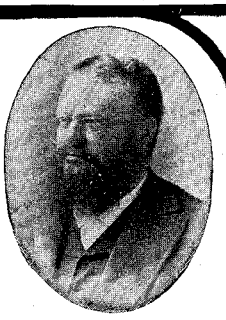

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